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NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Geoffrey Salmon

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* The Functional Significance of the Physician within the historical context of Modern German Literature

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THESE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1978

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. H. Pausch

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THE FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHYSICIAN WITHIN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

by

© GEOFFREY SALMON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GE[illegible] LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
AUTUMN, 1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHYSICIAN WITHIN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE submitted by Geoffrey Salmon in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Holger Pausch
Supervisor

Alison Scott-Prelorentzos

E.M. Greene

Roman S. Struc
External Examiner

Date Oct. 15, 1978

ABSTRACT

The scientific developments of the later nineteenth century resulted in, among other things, the firm establishment of a reliable and effective system of medicine which transformed the hitherto largely unheralded figure of the physician into a personage of exalted and respected social standing. Elevated to a position among the highest ranks in society the physician came to be regarded as an individual able to penetrate the mysteries and problems of existence to a greater depth than any other and, as such, he subsequently attracted the attention of literary writers who saw in him in ideal vehicle for the expression of their own social opinions. In German literature it is in the naturalistic work of Gerhart Hauptmann that the physician first achieves prominence in the above-mentioned role, where, as a representative, as well as a revealer of social truths he discloses the shortcomings of a technical age which had otherwise enthralled many with its achievements. This thesis endeavours to demonstrate the suitability of the doctor-figure as the critical vehicle of the literary writer from the age of Naturalism to the present, and encompasses the four major divisions of German history within the time specified: the Wilhelminian Age, the period of the Weimar Republic, the years of National Socialism, and the post-Second World War period. In its examination of the functional significance of the fictional

physician as he is confronted with differing social-historical situations the study attempts to contribute to a deeper appreciation of both past and present.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Miss Gertrud Seidmann, late of Southall Grammar School, Middlesex, England, for her perseverance with an at times unruly young pupil; and particularly to Dr. Holger Pausch, Dr. Gerwin Mahrarens and the Department of Germanic Languages of the University of Alberta for their support and guidance, but most of all for their patience in the writing of the following study.

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INTRODUCTION

> "It is natural to find physicians well represented among literary characters in European fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; their important place in modern society was bound to have its reflection in literature."

With these words Hermann Boeschenstein, in his study The German Novel, 1939-1944, begins a chapter on the literary treatment of the physician.[1] He continues by stressing the latter's significant position within the "occupational stratification of fiction," and lists as reasons for the medical man's social importance "the increasing attention paid to health in modern life;...the search for a deeper understanding of the process of healing;...the fact that particular medical problems have become highly controversial topics in which even laymen are taking great interest."[2] To the first essential point that Boeschenstein makes--the frequency with which the physician is selected as a literary character in European fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries--it must be added that the same process occurs in drama, and that the medical man's popularity among writers and playwrights is most readily noticeable from the literary period of Naturalism onwards.

With regard to a second point, concerning the social importance of the physician, from which the latter's favoured position as a fictional character ensues, the reasons for this submitted by Boeschenstein, while certainly valid enough, as will be later discussed, do not embrace those historical aspects of medical development which provide the truly fundamental basis of the modern doctor's credibility and exalted social standing. The underlying historical cause of the latter's elevated position ultimately lies in the tremendous wave of scientific activity which characterized the nineteenth century, particularly in its later stages. Before any discussion of the physician, either within modern society or in modern literature, takes place, it would appear necessary to examine this and determine what changes it signified for the doctor and his profession.

The most obvious evidence of the nineteenth century scientific expansion lay in the period's technological achievements. The control and production of physical energy with the development of the first steam engines, the electric dynamo, and later the internal combustion engine, made possible, together with the simultaneous economic production of suitable fuels, the generation of large amounts of power at any given location. This paved the way for a vast and efficient industrialization, extensive and complex systems of transportation, and unprecedentedly swift means of communication, as the nineteenth century became the era of factory mass-production, great steam-fleets and railway networks, huge bridges and dams, the telegraph, the telephone, as well as vast systems of heating and lighting. These achievements were but one indication of man's new areas of knowledge, however, for other scientific discoveries led to greatly increased agricultural yields, as chemical fertilizers, artificial breeding and scientific protection in the form of pest-control came to play an effective part in food supply. A parallel form of protection, grounded in similarly gained knowledge, was given to man himself with improved hygienic conditions of purer water supplies, better foodstuffs, and more efficient waste-disposal— conditions which also contributed to perhaps the most significant manifestation of the nineteenth century scientific expansion: the development of a reliable and effective system of medicine which enabled man to extend the borders of life into areas in which only half a century previously death had largely been present.

The scientific approach to medicine resulted in revolutionary medical changes first of all towards the middle of the nineteenth century, and then, predominantly, in its latter half.[3] Thus, for example, although a surgeon in the year 1800 might be far better versed in anatomy and pathology than his predecessors of previous ages, his maih professional assets in this period of non-anaesthetization were speed and daring. The first use of general anaesthetic in 1846, and later, local anaesthetic in 1884 enabled him to work in a far more leisurely fashion and greatly improved the knowledge of this particular form of medicine, so that by the end of the century he was able to examine closely both chest and abdomen, as well as the brain, despite claims that this would always remain impossible, which came as late as 1873. From the 1850s onwards developments occurred with which the truly significant basis of modern medical science can be said to have been laid. The cellular pathology of Virchow in 1858, the discovery of the bacterial cause of infection by Pasteur, Koch, and Behring in the 1860's and '80's, the antiseptic work of Lister in the 1860's, as well as, perhaps, the discoveries of Röntgen with X-rays in the '90s, initiated a complete development away from much previous medical thinking, and established new medical dimensions. This is particularly true with regard to the discovery of the bacterial cause of infection which led to the origin of preventive medicine, which in turn transformed the physician's profession into a social necessity and thus a vital factor in the modern world. The doctor, whose efforts to heal had in previous times been practically restricted to the individual sick-room, now found himself called upon to serve mankind as a whole. The world at large was now to be guarded against disease, and the physician, who had hitherto fought his battles at the bedside, was now to fight them in the front ranks of an advancing civilisation.

With the profound changes in the profession of medicine throughout the nineteenth century, the professional identity of the physician was also transformed. Whereas before he had been associated with various metiers such as those of the sorcerer, priest, astrologer, alchemist, blood-letter, barber, philosophizing academician or magnetic illusionist, he was now for the first time fully revealed as a scientific investigator capable of producing significant results. Accordingly, important changes in his social and intellectual position began to occur, and already by the 1850s, having long since shed the caricatured, bewigged, red-robed, charlatan-type image with which the previous century had provided him, he was rapidly commanding public respect and reverence, as opposed to earlier mistrust and contempt. Moreover, the greatly increased areas of medical knowledge not only led to the intense specialization in his profession, which is characteristic today, but also opened up a vast gap between himself and the layman, who consequently became increasingly dependent upon the physician during times of illness.

Besides the application of science to medicine, a second factor in the nineteenth century's increasingly positive attitude towards the physician lay in the application of science to industry. Many firms built and equipped laboratories for the benefit of the scentists in their employ, and in one such industrial laboratory, that of the firm I.G. Farben, the chemist Paul Ehrlich discovered Salvarsan, a successful means of treating syphilis. Apart from this, the vast industrial growth which resulted from scientific discovery and the application of scientific technique gave rise to rapidly increasing urban populations in which occupational sickness was rife. This eventually led to the introduction of some form of public health legislation, such as that in Germany between the years 1881 and 1889, and the subsequent rise of social medicine through which the physician gained additional exposure to the public.

The scientific revolution of the nineteenth century also created, as has been mentioned, unprecedented facilities of transportation and communication, which made it relatively easy, for example, to bring patients to the big hospitals which were beginning to appear, or for the physician to make trips to outlying districts which would otherwise have remained without medical help considerably longer. Furthermore, descriptions of disease could be instantly telegraphed, or even telephoned, for initial diagnosis or second opinion, while details of cure could be transmitted in the same way. These factors, too, led to a deeper appreciation of the medical profession during the period.

Another source of social prestige originated from the physician's identification, as a result of the application of science to medicine, with the scientific investigator. In the 1870s beliefs were expressed that, with the new and extensive acquisition of knowledge through scientific discovery and method, there would be found in all human activity a higher moral diligence and a source of constantly increasing striving towards the final secrets of life.[4] This latter concept, which amounted to a quest for the ultimate truths of existence, was a highly topical issue in many areas of the contemporary scientific community, and the importance attributed to it is summed up in the proud words of Rudolf

Virchow, one of the leading medical scientists of the times: "Die Anschauung der Wahrheit ist unser höchstes Glück. Unser Glaube ist der Glaube an den Fortschritt in der Erkenntnis der Wahrheit."[5] The physician, by virtue of his greatly increased ability to penetrate many of the mysteries surrounding human life, came to be a highly significant figure in the quest for this ultimate truth, the attainment of which, it was hoped, would alleviate all the problems afflicting man. Hans Hartmann describes the development of this significance as follows:

> Er [der Arzt] wird zum Träger eines bestimmten philosophischen Weltbildes und einer bestimmten Lebenshaltung. Er wird Mittelpunkt des gesellschaftlichen Lebens, erhält also soziologische Bedeutung. Ja, in einigen Fällen wird er geradezu der Führer zur wissenschaftlichen Weltanschauung und damit zur Wahrheit überhaupt. War er früher der Mann, der schlecht oder recht heilen konnte, so tritt seine Fähigkeit zum Heilen jetzt sogar zurück hinter seiner Fähigkeit, die Geheimnisse der Welt und des Lebens zu erforschen und zu verstehen. Ihm beginnt man mehr zu vertrauen als den Theologen und Philosophen. Er ist mit dem Physiker zusammen der Wissende, der die Natur in ihren geheimsten Kräften und Gängen verfolgt und sie zu deuten vermag.[6]

In this instance the physician's importance as the increasingly successful combatant of disease recedes before his scientifically investigative approach to his environment which reputedly provides him with practically omniscient awareness of the workings of nature. He acquires a significance which transcends that arising from his strictly medical knowledge, and even becomes, as Bruno Wachsmuth indicates, an individual able to grasp the spiritual predicament of the times as no other could.[7]

Nowadays, although the physician's social delineation as a means of attaining the ultimate, all-alleviating truths of existence is no longer fashionable, the primary basis of his focal point in society still rests in the superior scientific knowledge which the profession of medicine has gained, and which still commands, with revolutionary developments such as heart- and other vital organ transplants, or the use of painless laser techniques in otherwise quite complicated aspects of surgery, a vast and deserved public reverence. It is also grounded, as Boeschenstein has indicated, in a modern public sensitivity towards health which is evident in an unprecedented emphasis upon physical exercise and regular medical examination, and in public interest in moral issues of medicine such as abortion, contraception, so-called "spare part" surgery, and the maintenance of life-support systems for the incurably sick.[8] The controversy surrounding such topics produces quite extreme results, for the physician, in engaging in them, is generally either regarded as a saviour, or, as in the recent notable case of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, as a criminal.[9]

A further reason for the doctor's central position in today's society lies in the instant communicability of medical activity via mass-media techniques such as television into the homes of millions. Particularly significant in this respect are not so much documentary programmes portraying scientific aspects of healing, but the extremely numerous entertainment serials which have the physician as their leading figure, and in which great emphasis is placed upon the latter as a humanitarian rather than as a scientist.[10] These television programmes are especially important in that they seem to present the most relevant image of the doctor for today's public, which is indicated by their high number and immensely popular reception, and by the fact that a society in which psychical ailments represent a surprisingly high percentage of the overall extent of infirmity, should be attracted by the spiritual guidance and leadership of which the programmes' substance overwhelmingly consists.[11] Furthermore, their great popularity constitutes an immediate symptom of a modern public need for contact or even self-identification with the doctor, which seems to betoken a latent dissatisfaction and malcontent in society, as well as an additional sphere of importance for the physician himself. Regarding this, if follows from what has just been stated, that any examination of society's attitudes towards the doctor would reveal the extent of its fundamental precariousness and fragility, or conversely, of its inner stability and health. In this case the physician thus becomes important as a kind of social barometer registering both the pressures and the calm periods of social activity.

With such a combination of qualities, attributes and prestigious circumstances surrounding his person, the physician, as Boeschenstein has indicated, becomes a social figure of outstanding attraction for the literary writer.

The subsequent frequent appearance of the doctor in the literary work has in turn drawn the attention of both students and critics of literature whose sometimes quite lengthy studies of the fictional medical man are highly informative and in part well illustrative of the great volume of works in which the latter functions. This latter feature is particularly the case, for example, with Helene Schachel's dissertation Die Gestalt des Arztes in der modernen deutschen Dichtung, in which she outlines her task as examining which form the physician receives in modern German literature, and asks how does one conceive of the physician whose profession is one of the most demanding and responsible, yet also most gratifying, and from which points of view is he presented?[12] While, however, this investigation of over 300 pages deals with close to 40 novels, plays, and autobiographical writings, and supplies much information in the form of plot-substance, it tends to neglect deeper issues concerning less the appearance of the doctor, than his essential sociological function in the literary work.

Much the same must also be said of Fritz Wittmann's study Der Arzt im Spiegelbild der deutschen schöngeistigen Literatur seit dem Beginn des Naturalismus, a work which attempts to determine what kind of portrayal of the physician and his mission is found in modern literature.[13] The approximately 150 works which Wittman analyses, and which include those originally written in other languages, are divided by him into three categories: the first dealing with doctor-figures of secondary importance in the literary work; the second with those performing more important, and sometimes even the major roles; the third treating longer "physician-novels", among the authors of which are doctors themselves. This latter fact is, according to ~~Wittman,~~ more of an advantage than a handicap for his investigation, for lack of objectivity is largely offset by deeper knowledge of the subject and by particular familiarity with the questions raised.[14] Criticism of the lack of penetrative analysis in this study must be placed in a proper perspective, however, as Wittman, himself a physician, has, in outlining the image of the physician in modern literature, another specific purpose in mind: "Wir sehen diese Romane, Novellen und Dramen ganz nüchtern von unserem ärztlichen Standpunkt darauf an, wieweit sie unser ärztliches Leben wahr oder verlogen, real oder idealisiert schildern und suchen von da aus die Frage zu beantworten, ob wir diese Literatur von hier aus als nützlich oder nachteilig für ihre Leser ansehen müssen."[15]

A much more condensed version of the portrayal of the doctor in modern literature appears in the penultimate section of Paul Carsten's work Literarisches aus der Medizin: Medizinisches aus der Literatur, in which in the space of 56 pages he examines close to 200 works, including some from English, Russian and French literature.[16] Such an exhaustive study within so limited an extent necessarily precludes deeper examination of the fictional doctor-figures mentioned, so that the major value of Carsten's work, as perhaps in keeping with the studies of Helene Schachel and Fritz Wittman, lies in its revelation of the wide range of "doctor-literature". The remaining sections of the book deal with the theme of medicine as a subject of poetry, with the travelling experiences of German physicians in times of war and peace, with a history of eye-ailments throughout literature, and with the theme of the nurse in modern literature. Again, the main features of these sections are exhaustive collections of references and necessary brevity of comment.

An interesting study of the physician in literature of an earlier period is Erika Ernst's dissertation _Der Arzt in der schöngeistigen Literatur der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts_, the starting point for which is a statement made in 1849 by none other than Rudolf Virchow himself, according to which the uncertainty of medicines and the mistrust of medical skill are such customary expressions that hardly a novel is written in which the physician does not play a deplorable role.[17] Setting out to disprove this, the writer, after examining numerous works within the designated period, finds evidence of the statement's falseness predominantly in the literature of Poetic Realism. The salient feature of this investigation is the depiction of the physician's social image within the literary work; that is, how the doctor appears, whether as a caricatured specialist, as in Jean Paul's _Dr. Katzenbergers Badereise_ (1809); a diabolical figure, as in E.T.A. Hoffmann's _Der unheimliche Gast_ (1817); or as a positively judged character deserving of respect and gratitude, as in Adalbert Stifter's Aus der Mappe meines Urgrossvaters (1841-2), or Jeremias Gotthelf's Anne Bäbi Jowäger (1843-4).

A fuller, more significant depiction of the physician's social image within the literary work is the subject of Liselotte Fauler's study Der Arzt im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, which provides a good general account of the literary treatment of the physician from the period of the Fastnachtspiel to the appearance in the earlier decades of this century of works such as Kolbenheyer's Paracelsus trilogy (1923-7), and Carossa's Der Arzt Gion (1931).[18] The work constitutes an extensive and valuable source of information pertaining to the fictional doctor, and includes a particularly significant section dealing with Gotthelf's insight, in his novel Anne Bäbi Jowäger, into the problematic trends of an emerging scientific medicine whereby the importance of human values frequently seemed to recede.[19]

A major work which exhibits a somewhat different approach to the doctor-figure in literature than the studies mentioned above is Bruno Wachsmuth's book Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit.[20] This valuable investigation does not merely examine how the physician appears in literature - whether as a positively or as a negatively assessed figure - but, more significantly, discloses what functional significance is attributed to his inclusion in the literary work. Wachsmuth's book is the first major study to investigate this, and to provide the basis for his approach he has included an excellent and extremely informative section which covers the developing attitudes both within as well as towards medicine throughout the nineteenth century. This chapter, "Die Lehre vom naturwissenschaftlichen Arzt im 19. Jahrhundert", includes numerous quotations and excerpts from speeches and addresses of the annual conferences of the German Scientific and Medical Association which began to be held in 1822, as well as references from important pertinent critical writings.[21] It is evidence such as this which leads Wachsmuth to conclude that the German physician of the nineteenth century was universally held to be the embodiment of the best German qualities.[22]

The initial key to the physician's greatly expanded popularity among nineteenth century writers is recognized by Wachsmuth as lying in the scientific orientation of the medical profession, and in somewhat simplistic terms he describes the subsequent social hopes arising from the scientific approach: "Wissenschaft gibt Wahrheit, und Wahrheit bringt Kraft, Glück und Zufriedenheit".[23] Because the physician, in his function of restoring unfortunates to health, appears ideally suited to effect this process, he may become for the literary writer a symbolic form of the individual who penetrates the lies of the present and already personifies the better man of the future.[24] In another chapter, "Der Einfluss der Medizin auf die Dichtung Im Beginn des Naturalismus", Wachsmuth demonstrates how, particularly in the works of

Ibsen and Hauptmann, such a delineation of the physician emerges.[25] This section, together perhaps with a third, "Der Arzt im späten Naturalismus und bei dessen Gegnern und Nachfolgern", represents an overall excellent treatment of the physician as a critical mouthpiece of writers concerned to express their opinions of their environment.[26] Both chapters, but especially the one dealing with Ibsen and Hauptmann, are significant in that they expose the "necessity" of selecting the physician for this particular role, and in this respect Wachsmuth's book is clearly differentiated from other studies of the fictional doctor.

The remaining sections of the work, which are also generally characterized by a high standard of scholarship, include an important discussion of the physician as a social leader in conjunction with the difficulties of post World War One German life, as well as a chapter, "Erste Kritik am modernen Arzttum in der Dichtung", in which Wachsmuth attempts to illustrate how the physician, because of criticism of the scientific-technical aspects of medicine, becomes for writers not only a symbol of anticipation, but also a symbol of disappointment in scientific progress.[27] Notable examples of works chosen to depict this are George Bernard Shaw's The Doctor's Dilemma (1906), Ernst Schweninger's Der Arzt (1906), and the two plays of Hans Müller Das Wunder der Beatus (1910) and Der Schöpfer (1918). Wachsmuth's study, with its object of revealing which changes in form and significance have occurred in the image of the physician in literature,[28] may be taken as an extremely valuable piece of research into the topic of the fictional doctor. Its attempt to reveal not only the modern extensive appearance of the latter, but significantly also the historical and sociological factors behind this phenomenon, makes it a successful and interesting work.

In the case of this particular investigation an attempt will be made to take up the significant revelations made by Wachsmuth concerning the excellent suitability of the physician as the critical mouthpiece of socially concerned writers. It is intended to reveal what specific social importance may be attributed to the medical man's inclusion in the literary work, and to determine thereby what exactly the functional significance of the latter as a literary character consists in. The analyses which follow below will constitute primarily a sociological approach to literature in which the literary works and their corresponding doctor-figures will be looked upon essentially, but at the same time guardedly, as important sources of information concerning aspects of the historical reality in which they were written or to which they allude.[29] Thus although, according to this statement, literature will be regarded here foremost as a form of social document, it will and must, in fact, only be identified as such with great caution. Literature, as defined by Alan Swingewood as "a reflection of values and of feeling", has been called by the same writer "perhaps one of the most effective sociological barometers of the human response to social forces", but, as Leo Löwenthal points out, whether or not it is the artist or the sociologist who creates a portrait of society, the result is always a subjectively distorted, biased interpretation.[30] To assess literature in the manner Swingewood describes requires the sifting and specific identification of its subjective components, for, while Löwenthal's warning note is valid enough, there exist beneath the adapted version of reality which the literary work reflects certain objective elements related to, but different from the subjective veneer. For Ulrich Karthaus these elements, when detected, may be highly informative and grant new insight into historical circumstances:

> ..auch wenn der Dichter es nicht ausdrücklich will, auch wenn es zunächst nicht den Anschein hat, beantwortet die Dichtung Fragen, die die Epoche ihres Entstehens aufwirft. Nicht kann die Literatursoziologie darin bestehen, Dichtung naiv als Dokument einer sozialen oder historischen Wirklichkeit anzusehen; andere Quellen täten da bessere Dienste. Niemals spiegelt Dichtung nur Vorhandenes wider, sondern sie blendet von Vorhandenem ab ... Dichtung schafft neue Perspektive auf die Welt, sie lehrt, die Dinge neu zu sehen.[31]

For Urs Jaeggi the elements of a literary work which serve to create new perspectives on historical reality, as mentioned by Karthaus, would be identified collectively as the "political" essence of literature:

> Der Schreibende, der mit dem Wort arbeiten muss, handelt, wenn er einen bestimmten Sprachgebrauch, eine bestimmte Form und bestimmte Inhalte verwendet, politisch, und zwar nicht bloss deshalb, weil er auf jeden

> Fall gesellschaftliche Widersprüche entweder aufreisst oder zudeckt. Er kann sich zum Beispiel auf Verneinung festlegen oder kann versuchen, Positives hervorzuheben, je nachdem, wie er seine Arbeit auffasst, welche Inhalte er sucht.[32]

The "political" essence of literature, its fundamental concept (or concepts) around which the fictional interaction is constructed, is further described by Löwenthal as a central core of meaning expressed by means of artistic symbols in a blend of feelings and thoughts. In order to identify this inner substance it is necessary, according to the same writer, to investigate "which modes of rejection or acceptance of existing social orders occur in literature", and "how a literary character dissents from a social order or how he seeks to justify it".[33] Such an investigation would enable one to fill in the blanks left by political and economic history, with the result that literature may be understood as a positive and valuable means of portraying what man, i.e. the literary writer, feels within a certain social environment, what he may hope or expect from it, or how he can change it or escape from it.[34] As the critical vehicle of the literary author, the fictional physician will often indicate both the presence and the nature of the objective inner significance, the "political" essence of the literary work, for it is in his actions and comments that the modes of social rejection or acceptance of the writer may be detected. When revealed in this manner as an important component of the process which Karthaus, Jaeggi and Löwenthal describe, the fictional doctor may consequently be regarded as a considerable means of increasing one's understanding of specific social historical climates.

As perhaps already indicated, the role of the physician as the critical mouthpiece of the literary writer only really comes into being during the literary period of Naturalism. Despite the emergence, during the preceding period of Poetic Realism, of the physician as an important literary character, as is substantiated by studies such as those of Liselotte Fauler and Erika Ernst,[35] it was not until the practice of medicine had not only become fully immersed in the unprecedentedly extensive and rapid scientific expansion of the later decades of the nineteenth century, but had also been hailed as one of the most credible manifestations of the medical man's potential for mankind, that the doctor began to appear regularly, and in a definite manner as the functionally significant vehicle of social comment and criticism.[36] It is in the naturalistic works of writers such as Emile Zola, Henrik Ibsen and, in German literature, Gerhart Hauptmann that this literary phenomenon makes its intensified presence initially felt.[37] Accordingly, the chronological starting point for this investigation will be consistent with the period in which this occurs, and the earliest written work it will examine will be Hauptmann's drama Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889) in which the physician Schimmelpfennig, in a style reminiscent of Ibsen's medical character Relling in The Wild Duck (1884), exposes the harsh truth of contemporary existence.[38]

With regard to the content material of the following study, it is not intended, if only because of the vast and extensive range of "doctor-literature",[39] to present a completely exhaustiveinventory of analyses, but to examine the functional significance of the physician-figure on the basis of a limited number of selected works and thereby demonstrate the validity of the arguments outlined above, as well as, of course, provide additional insight into the historical periods out of which the literary action evolved. Because the investigation constitutes an external, sociological approach to literature and is not primarily concerned with the latter's intrinsic qualities, certain works have been included which, while of a generally lower aesthetic literary merit, portray the physician in a manner highly pertinent to the aims of the study. Examples of such works may be found in Josef Ponten's novelle Die Bockreiter(1918) discussed in the opening chapter, and in Karl Schönherr's social plays Hungerblockade 1918 (1925) and Der Armendoktor (1927) which appear in Chapter Two.

In a study such as this it is clear that much attention must be paid to the actual sphere of activity of the physician - the world of disease which, for the purpose of this investigation, will be seen to consist in the environmental conditions which the physician-figure exposes and confronts, but which, in certain circumstances, may also be identified with the actions and comments of the physician himself, as is the case, for example, with the doctor-figures of Rolf Hochhuth's drama *Der Stellvertreter* (1963) discussed in Chapter Three, and Friedrich Dürrenmatt's plays *Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi* (1952) and *Die Physiker* (1962) discussed in Chapter Four. Specifically, the historical background for disease will be formed by the human circumstances which develop out of the political, economic and resulting social change beginning in Germany with the age of the Second Empire.[40] While, however, the topic of disease remains an integral part of the analyses below and, incidentally, has emerged as a significant thought in the minds of many important writers,[41] it is the function of the physician itself - in fundamental terms the doctor-figure's relationship to his diseased milieu - which is of the utmost significance here. The depiction of disease as such is relevant only as a form of touchstone on which the actions and comments of the physician-figure - the essence of his critical sociological function - are revealed.[42]

Having established this, the type of literary work deemed most suitable to the aims of this investigation is that in which the physician, either by virtue of his situation outside the sphere of social disease, or in certain instances by his assimilation of it, is as far as possible solely and actively responsible for the exposure and/or the criticism of, and in some cases for the resistance to the negative social circumstances. Works have thus been selected which have a direct bearing upon the defined historical context of this study, and in which the physician-figure plays the essential role as the functionally effective vehicle of the literary writer, whether as a deeper-seeing observer, an active protagonist or as the personification of the social disease itself. Physician-figures which are not situated within the central configurations of the literary work and which are not truly instrumental in promoting its fundamental message, have not been considered.

When one is discussing the appearance of the physician-figure in modern German literature one of several important works which come readily to mind is Thomas Mann's long novel Der Zauberberg (1924). In the discussion which follows below specific reference will be made to this work with a view to establishing why, despite its significant place in modern fiction, its content-material is actually inappropriate to the aims of this study. Der Zauberberg has been classified as a pedagogical novel, a symbolic novel, a psychological novel, and, because it may be said that it "strives to express the psychic temper of a whole age"[43] as a "Zeitroman". Its action takes place in the tuberculosis sanatorium Berghof high in the Swiss Alps and covers a period of seven years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War, and as it can be interpreted as the portrayal of a diseased Europe on the eve of the 1914-1918 conflict, it may at first sight perhaps also appear as highly suitable material for this study. Der Zauberberg is a novel in which disease is dominant. It has, in fact, been termed "the epic of disease",[44] and disease becomes in it an existence-form which, for the patients of the resort, is accepted as normal and of which they may even be proud. On the other hand, the elevation of disease to an existence-form may be regarded as an indication of a lack of fulfilment in the life of the sanatorium's inhabitants, and as such, as an important symbolic factor in the decline in spiritual values which ultimately led to the outbreak of the hostilities of 1914.[45]

The disease of the Der Zauberberg constitutes, however, much more than a symbolic portrayal of the European predicament prior to the First World War. Its major relevance for the novel lies in its identity as a prerequisite for heightened spiritual development, as a means of education, of acquiring "Bildung". Disease arouses the hero, Hans Castorp, out of a mediocre existence below in the "Flachland"; it forces him to re-evaluate his concepts of life; it sharpens his sense of time; it leads him to a heightened awareness of himself and others; it increases his intellectual insight; and it becomes, in the words of Hermann Weigand, "synonomous with the atmosphere of adventure in its widest sense."[46] Yet despite the value, as well as the fascination which disease holds for Castorp, the latter gradually comes to the realization that it and in particular its ultimate form, death, will of themselves lead to ruin. Disease and death must indeed be experienced at close hand if a fuller awareness of life is to be achieved, but they must not become dominant in the thoughts of man. These ideas are made clear in the section of the novel entitled "Schnee", in which Castorp, after having become lost in the snowy desolation high above the sanatorium, sees in a dream a vision of "a future humanity that has passed through and survived the profoundest knowledge of disease and death".[47] The lesson which Hans Castorp learns deserves to be quoted:

> Ich will dem Tode Treue halten in meinem Herzen, doch mich hell erinnern, dass Treue zum Tode und Gewesenem nur Bosheit und finstere Wollust und Menschenfeindschaft ist, bestimmt sie unser Denken und Regieren. Der Mensch soll um der Güte und Liebe willen dem Tode keine Herrschaft einräumen über seine Gedanken.[48]

Returning to the confines of the sanatorium, Castorp finds that what he had experienced upon the high mountain-slope quickly fades from his mind: "Was er geträumt, war im Verbleichen begriffen. Was er gedacht, verstand er schon diesen Abend nicht mehr so recht."[49]

The medical head of the resort Berghof is the Hofrat Behrens, who is assisted in his work there by a second doctor, Edhin Krokowski. While the former is interested in the physiological aspects of disease, the assistant's essential concern is for psycho-analysis, for he believes that all physical illnesses have their origins in man's psychic drive. Both physicians play a part in the education of Hans Castorp, for while Krokowski contributes to it in a series of lectures given every second Monday entitled "Love as a force contributory to Disease",[50] Behrens stimulates within the hero a keen interest in anatomy, physiology and biology. The truly significant part played by the two physicians in Der Zauberberg lies, however, in their association with the real meaning, the underlying identity of the Berghof. In the sanatorium the prevalent conditions are those of disease and of death, which, as has been seen, emerge as vital pedagogical agents in man's knowledge of life, but which must not be allowed to command man's thoughts. Early on in the novel's action Castorp meets another patient, the Italian Settembrini, who refers to the resort as a kingdom of the shades which is inhabited by vacant and idle dead . He speaks of Behrens and Krokowski as the mythological brothers Rhadamanthus and Minos who were the judges and rulers of the underworld, and he identifies Hans Castorp with Odysseus who descended into the lower regions to seek advice.[51] The brief passage in which all this comes to light, and which practically constitutes Settembrini's first words to the hero, is of the utmost importance to an understanding of the novel, for the Berghof is, in fact, a place of death and its true nature is, in the words of one critic, that of a camouflaged Hades.[52] It is for this reason that Hans Castorp, after his crucial realization on the snowy upper mountain slopes, can no longer clearly recall what has passed through his mind when he returns to the Berghof. The "caressing" Hades-atmosphere of the sanatorium is already permeating his being as he ravenously eats his evening meal an hour after his arrival.

Within the Hades-setting of the resort Behrens-

Rhadamanthus and Krokowski-Minos preside and rule over their subjects. Gerhard Meyer has convincingly demonstrated that they have much in common with the death-figures of Thomas Mann's long short-story Der Tod in Venedig (1912), as well as with the death-figures of the Middle Ages.[53] For him they are obviously different from normal physicians:

> Behrens und Krokowski sind mehr als nur Mediziner. Ihr eigentliches Wesen trägt irrational-metaphysische Züge. Sie sind in der Tat Gestalten des Todes und stehen in seinem Dienst und Auftrag; ihr Herrschaftsbereich auf dem Zauberberg ist der Bereich des Todes.[54]

Because of the nature of their underlying identity the two physicians affirm and revere disease and death, and apparently reject health and life. When Hans Castorp, after discussing the content and workings of the human body with Behrens-Rhadamanthus, mentions that if one is interested in life one must also be particularly interested in death, a statement almost synonomous with the lessons he learns much later, the Hofrat is quick to point out that a difference exists between the two and immediately becomes melancholic and reticent when pressed further on the issue.[55] Elsewhere, when Krokowski-Minos, upon first meeting Castorp, is told by the latter that he is merely a visitor to the Berghof and does not require any medical attention, i.e. that he feels himself to be perfectly healthy, the psycho-analyst seems to be offended.[56] Yet when, after Castorp's later examination, the visitor is told by Behrens-Rhadamanthus that he must stay longer at the sanatorium because of a wet spot on his lung, Krokowski-Minos, "with his head tipped back sideways, and one hand on the young man's shoulder, smiling so heartily that the yellowish teeth showed in his beard, ... [shakes] him warmly by the hand".[57] As Meyer observes, Hans Castorp is hereby initiated and accepted into the Hades-society of the Berghof.[58] At the end of the novel, however, the hero leaves the resort and its netherworld inhabitants and atmosphere, and returns to the "Flachland", if only to become embroiled in the desperate struggles of the First World War. He thus rejects the Berghof's intoxicating lure of disease and death while at the same time acknowledging, as Thomas Mann himself states, that only through a deep experience of the two will one arrive at a higher sanity and health.[59]

It is because of its employment of the theme of disease primarily as a pedagogical agent than as a symptomatic revelation of pre-World War One society, and because its physician-figures assume, with their identification as death-figures, a relevance which does not conform to the definition of functional significance as ascribed to the physician in this study, that Der Zauberberg will not be included in the latter's main areas of discussion. Neither Behrens nor Krokowski can be said to constitute critical social mouthpieces acting on behalf of the author in the exposure of environmentally determined social weakness. What they do signify is Thomas Mann's notion of disease as a primary and fundamental existential condition, and his idea of the relationship of all life to death. Krokowski's early words to Hans Castorp that he had never once in his life come across a perfectly healthy human being are, in indicating the universality of disease, highly relevant in this respect.[60] What Thomas Mann also believed, as is clear from his novel, is that there can be no deeper knowledge of life without the experience of disease and death, which is what his hero comes to realize before his memory of it begins to fade in the deathly atmosphere of the sanatorium. The mention of this lapsing at the end of the section entitled "Schnee" is significant because it indicates that the Berghof, together with its inhabitants, constitute a force alien to the visions of the future humanity revealed to the hero. In a similar sense the physicians Behrens and Krokowski, as the absolute representatives of death, do not themselves actively promote the lesson which Hans Castorp learns, but instead remain watchful for individuals with a "talent for disease" whom they may entice and keep within their grasp in a manner similar to the Pied Piper and his throng.[61] The functional significance of the Berghof's leaders assumes traits which are metaphysical rather than sociological. Their true identity as representatives of death, an identity shared by many figures in the earlier work of Thomas Mann, marks them as significant literary symbols of much of the writer's philosophical outlook upon the world. As critical literary vehicles in the definition of, and the attack upon more material social dilemmas, however, they remain essentially functionless.

Another important work, or rather, collection of works which deserve mention at this point are the "Rönne-Novellen" of Gottfried Benn which first appeared under the collective title of Gehirne (1916), and which reveal, in a partly auto-descriptive manner, the highly problematic existence of the physician Werff Rönne. The five short narratives which comprise the work portray an individual who, having lost all meaningful contact with reality, is unable to remedy this situation and retreats inwardly upon himself. Salvation from the torment of his alienated, isolated predicament is offered by a new sphere of reality, that of the mythical-visionary. In his autobiographical work Lebensweg eines Intellektualisten, Benn himself provides an excellent, concise summary of Rönne's situation:

> ... da entstand Rönne, der Arzt, der Flagellant der Einzeldinge, das nackte Vakuum der Sachverhalte, der keine Wirklichkeit ertragen konnte, aber auch keine mehr erfassen, der nur das rhythmische Sichöffnen und Sichverschliessen des Ichs und der Persönlichkeit kannte, das fortwährend Gebrochene des inneren Seins und der, vor das Erlebnis von der tiefen, schwankenlosen mythenalten Fremdheit zwischen dem Menschen und der Welt gestellt, unbedingt der Mythe und ihren Bildern glaubte.[62]

Rönne's essential individual problem, the loss of meaningful contact with the reality around him, could be interpreted as a symbol of the absence of communication and understanding within the vastly broader sphere of nations and races - a condition very much in evidence prior to and during the First World War. The historical perspective of the narratives is much more sharply defined in the second story, Die Eroberung, in which reference is made to the enmity and timidity of the citizens of Brussels, whose city lies under German military occupation. The questions raised by Benn are, however, too profound to be related explicitly to the effect of war on the human race. They concern the existence, significance and endangering of the ego within the whole context of the modern era. A typical problem in this respect arises in the third story, Die Reise, in which Rönne plans to make a journey to Antwerp in order to seek cultural nourishment from the city's architecture. His fundamental insecurity when considering the idea of stepping outside his normal sphere of activity is commented on by Benn as follows:

> Ist das Ich schicksalhaft festgelegt, dann darf es nie seine Form verlassen, seinen Pflichtenkreis nie überschreiten, seine Prägung nie gefährden, sein Antlitz auch nie enthüllen, dann ist eine Reise [Rönnes beabsichtigte Reise nach Antwerpen] Auflösung, Gefahr, Unglaube innerhalb der strengen Frage nach Freiheit und Notwendigkeit, und dann kann sie überhaupt nur zur Bestätigung tiefster Zerrüttung führen.[63]

As already indicated, the counterweight to the encroaching nihilism of the "Rönne-Novellen" is seen by Benn to lie in the sphere of the mythical and the visionary, and in the final work of the series, Der Geburtstag, Rönne's inherent vulnerability is replaced by the ability to transform reality into a myth. He is able to look back upon his existence in an unproblematic manner and is now essentially able to "play", as it were, with the situations that confront him. The basic essence of the "Rönne-Novellen" is hereby demonstrated - by establishing new values within the realm of the mythical-visionary Rönne is able to overcome aesthetically his isolated, alienated and meaningless position in the real world.

An an embodiment of Gottfried Benn's assessment of the predicament of modern man, Rönne appears as an important literary vehicle who might well be included in the main sections of the study below. Because, however, Rönne's overall significance extends beyond the sociological aims of this investigation and is more relevant in the sphere of the aesthetic-philosophical - in other words, because the primary concern of the narratives is not recognized as a portrayal of the predicament of modern man as such, but as an attempt to overcome this predicament in an artistic, aesthetic sense - it is felt that the "Rönne-Novellen", while certainly very worthy of discussion, do not properly belong within the major confines of this study.

Before proceeding to the analyses below, one point remains to be cleared. It is mentioned above that the earliest written work dealt with here is Gerhart Hauptmann's play Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889). Because, however, the sequence of the works to be analyzed conforms in all cases to the historical setting of the particular literary content, discussions of certain works, such as that of Hauptmann's drama, will follow those of others which portray historically earlier circumstances, regardless of their actual writing and/or publication date.

CHAPTER I

WARNING AND FORESTALLING: THE PHYSICIAN'S ROLE IN GERMAN LITERATURE EXPOSING ASPECTS OF THE PERIOD OF GERMANY'S SECOND EMPIRE

As indicated by the historian Koppel S. Pinson, one of the most incredible interludes in the whole of modern history is constituted by the industrial, technological and economic transformation which Germany underwent throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century.[1] In the short period of approximately thirty years the nation which had formally only come into being after the victory over France in 1871 was transformed from a largely agricultural state into an extemely powerful and highly efficient industrialized country, capable of vying for economic supremacy amongst the richest lands on earth. Paralleling her phenomenal economic rise was Germany's additional pre-eminence in the field of the natural sciences. In mathematics, chemistry, physics and biology German scientists, among them notables such as Jacobi, Liebig, Mayer, Helmholtz, Hertz, Röntgen, Planck, Einstein, Koch, Ehrlich and Virchow, made tremendous discoveries which opened up whole new avenues of thought and which signified an immense increase in man's capacity to understand and control his natural environment.[2] According to Hajo Holborn, a significant number of these German scientists "must be counted as leaders of the gigantic progress of knowledge that revolutionized human thinking and, through technology, all human conditions".[3]

With the development of the natural sciences in Germany there had arisen in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century new intellectual currents which veered away from the preceding metaphysical, idealist philosophies, and instead encouraged the spread of positivist thought and scientific materialism.[4] It was upon experimental investigation, empirical reasoning and the detailed observation of life and matter that new emphasis was laid. Man's major interest henceforth lay in the objective scientific analysis of his environment, and the natural sciences, as the basis of this development, subsequently came to be regarded in broad circles as the infallible key to the ultimate truths of human existence.[5] Accordingly, a vibrant optimism and enthusiasm for the future was generated as it was assumed that the innermost secrets of nature and with this the power to ease all forms of human suffering would soon be within man's grasp. Such expectations are particularly stressed, for example, in Werner von Siemen's remarks uttered at the 1886 Berlin Conference of the German Scientific and Medical Association, which describe the contemporary era as an unceasing and indestructible age that would alleviate the social want and infirmity of its people, intensify their interest in life, and leave them more contented and satisfied with their lot.[6] It was by no means true, however, that scientific materialism, despite the undoubted success that the natural sciences achieved, became a permanent and widespread philosophical doctrine. Its most significant period of popularity is generally regarded as extending throughout the two to three decades after the middle of the century, beginning with the publication of works such as Jakob Moleschott's Kreislauf des Lebens (1852), Karl Vogt's Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft (1854) and Ludwig Büchner's Kraft und Stoff (1855). On the other hand, Du Bois-Raymond's lecture Über die Grenzen des Naturerkennens, delivered to the German Scientific and Medical Association at Leipzig in 1872, clearly indicated that the natural sciences were far from illuminating the innermost secrets of life, and other leading scientists such as Justus Liebig and Hermann Helmholtz spoke out against the arbitrary employment of scientific methods in the deeper problems of existence.[7]

A good deal of the above historical discussion is reflected in the comments and activities of the physician-hero in Ludwig Finckh's story Der Rosendoktor, which appeared in 1905.[8] Finckh, who was born in the Baden-Württemberg town of Reutlingen in 1876, studied both jurisprudence and medicine before becoming a practising physician in 1905. He served as a field doctor during the First World War, and later undertook a series of lecture-tours among expatriate Germans in Hungary, Rumania and the Balkans. He died in 1964 in the Swiss town of Gaienhofen. His works, which include both poetry and prose, betray a closeness to nature and a strong feeling for life, and exhibit a simplicity of style and an inclination towards idyllic contentment. Der

Rosendoktor is a typical work in this respect, being a short and relatively straightforward account of the life and career of the physician Heinrich Frischwachs, yet at the same time illuminating in a relaxed and unproblematic style Finckh's appraisal of contemporary social reality.

The novel begins with an account of Frischwachs' childhood, a period of naivety, but also one of extremely close proximity to the world of nature. Later on the future doctor embarks upon a study of jurisprudence, but becomes interested in the natural sciences and is regretful that such subjects were totally neglected by his teachers during his schooldays. Having become disappointed with the nature of his law studies, Frischwach finally decides to become a physician, a profession much more suited to the sympathetic concern he manifests for the world about him. A happy interlude during his student days is formed by his friendship with Peter, a poet and bookseller from whom he learns both humility and generosity. Frischwachs' possession of this latter quality later enables him to sustain Hans, a student-friend whose inner loneliness and insecurity continually threaten to overwhelm him. The greatest act of Frischwachs' magnanimity occurs, however, when he releases Anne, an artist with whom he has fallen in love, and who loves him, from all moral obligations she might have to him, in order that she may remain with Hans who would otherwise suffer spiritual devastation. With this difficult act of renunciation behind him Frischwachs eventually returns to a small village in his homeland where, among other things, he cultivates the roses to which the novel's title pertains. Within this framework of Christian charity and affinity to nature Finckh evaluates, however, both developing and static trends of late nineteenth century society. The historical cornerstone of his work is the ascendence of the natural sciences to a position of dominance in intellectual thought, together with the resulting effect upon daily life in general. Frischwachs, through whose eyes this is reviewed, exudes optimism and enthusiasm for the developments he sees, but he tempers these with specific and pointed criticism of the social weaknesses to which he is also exposed.

An early example of the latter occurs during his schooldays when, amidst his rustic surroundings, he not only experiences a close affinity to nature, of whose outward workings he becomes well aware, but also develops an interest in the arts, in which a deep sensitivity is revealed. The roughshod, yet at times over-analytical treatment by his teacher of the works of Goethe and Schiller provokes a protesting and critical reaction:

> Wozu denn immer fragen? Es gibt in der Schönheit oft nichts zu erklären und zu verstehen, nur zu empfinden. Wozu denn fragen? Es gibt im Leben oft nichts zu denken und auszusprechen, nur zu ahnen. Und die Menschen, die nicht ahnen und empfinden können, werden's nie begreifen.[9]

The thoughts expressed here constitute a major lesson of Finckh's novel and form the basis of the significant criticism in the work of the positivistic philosophy which developed with the rise of the natural sciences. This does not mean, however, that Frischwachs remains unmoved by the dynamic vitality which the latter inspired. Having left the carefree ways of a country life, untouched by the pressures of the outside world, he is exposed to new values at the university town where he is to study jurisprudence. Acknowledging immediately the natural sciences as the keystone of an intellectual turnover and the basis of a whole new mode of existence, Frischwachs is soon enthused by the excitement and optimism currently being generated:

> Überall war Frühling im geistigen Leben, es sprosste und trieb mit einer nie geglaubten Kraft, man riss die Fenster auf und liess Licht und frische Luft herein. Wie ein Rausch der Genesung war es über uns gekommen, eine lange verhaltene Kraft schoss und sprudelte aus neuen und alten Quellen und riss sich frische Bäche in die alte Erde.[10]

While, however, Frischwachs clearly recognizes the significance of the rise of science for humanity, he is aware too that other factors besides purely scientific elements are also indispensable to the sustenance of the new vitality, and he has already indicated that close analysis and examination, the method of the natural sciences, can in some cases lead to the overlooking of a subject's intrinsic characteristics. Later, when Frischwachs decides to become a physician, he does so in the realization that too much emphasis upon technical knowledge will divert his attention from the spiritual needs of his patients, which are as vital to their continued well-being as the scientific techniques he will apply in their cure. Frischwachs' description of how his decision to become a doctor was reached, emphasizes the humane function of the physician as being perhaps more important than the purely technical aspect of his work:

> Ich will etwas lernen, dass ich den
> Armen und Kranken helfen kann, ich werde
> sie verstehen,.. und will sie trösten
> und ihre Not lindern... Mein Ziel war
> klar, ich würde Arzt werden, um Kranke
> zu heilen. Nicht bloss die Technik
> erlernen, wie jeder andre, sondern
> ein Herz voll Liebe über sie strömen.[11]

In making the distinction between the healer and the technician Frischwachs is here attacking the pragmatism and unfeeling nature of the purely technical approach to life. Of course, as a trained physician of the late nineteenth century he is very much a scientist, but he is also a figure in whom scientific observation, investigation, and application are blended with a warm humanity and a profound spiritual sensitivity. Moreover, he contains within him a deep-rooted humility and a respect which is religious in character. A broad manifestation of these qualities presents itself in the account of his anatomical studies, in which he again distinguishes between the wholly technical personality and the spiritually sensitive individual. For Frischwachs the limbs which he dissects are far more than the inanimate objects of a purely scientific investigation:

> Hier war kein Tod, hier war nur Schönheit.
> ...Ich...durfte Glieder sehen, die ein
> grosser Schöpfer hingeworfen hatte...Ich

> schnitt ein und legte einen Muskel bloss. Wie schön, wie wunderschön. Ein Muskel! Nicht eine rohe und ungeordnete Masse, wie ich geglaubt, sondern ein zartes, feingebautes und zu bestimmten Zweck in Anfang und Ende verlaufendes Gebilde, eine eigne Persönlichkeit so gut wie ein ganzer Mensch.[12]

The combination of exact observation, awareness of aesthetic inner quality and religious feeling which Finckh's character exhibits here, makes him superior to the others in his group, who, unable to appreciate in a total sense the implications of the sights revealed to them, remain confined within their own scientific limitations.[13] For Frischwachs the true value of the physician is thus not grounded in scientific training alone. Moreover, as an individual privileged to discern and comprehend the workings of the human body, the physician should, in his eyes, be all the more prepared to practise humility and deference before its Creator, besides being able to understand the material and spiritual problems which contribute to sickness, as well as that of sickness itself. Accordingly, Frischwachs becomes at the close of the novel a doctor for the poor of his village who takes in and gives shelter to vagrants, but above all, and this to the chagrin of the village priest, who acts as the community's private spiritual advisor.

Frischwachs' rejection of the purely technical approach to life and his establishment of the spiritual over the material form the initial manifestation of one of the physician's most important functions in this investigation. Throughout the next eight works to be discussed here the dangers, on the one hand, of the first theme and the necessity, on the other hand, of the second, will be made increasingly clear in the critical social awareness of the medical man, whose specific role will encompass both passive observation and active resistance, as well as tragic failure and successful reconstruction, when confronted with the negative forces, the vanguard of which Frischwachs seems already to detect.

Frischwachs' sensitivity to matters transcending purely scientific or medical questions is also evident elsewhere in Der Rosendoktor. Of these issues the problem of equal rights for women was a topic very much in nineteenth century public focus, and one seen by social critics of the time as being linked in certain ways to the current technological and industrial expansion.[14] Although German industrial growth had by 1910 surpassed that of all other powers except the United States, the increase in the real wages of the workers remained far behind that in other countries, with the result that many families could only maintain pace with the rising costs of living by sending women into full-time employment.[15] Accordingly, increasingly large numbers of women were entering the new factories and workshops which urgently required a labour force, but they were continually exploited by owners who were well aware that the material demands of a woman were much lower than those of a man. As a consequence, the protests of women's movements changed from general grumblings concerning inequality to clear portrayals of the harsh working conditions to which women were subjected without any improvement in their social situation. The growing movement for the fair and equal treatment of the woman also affected many who were not materially dependent upon the work the factories had to offer. These women demanded the right to a higher education, to be allowed to vote, to enjoy fair participation in all branches of civil and political activity, in short, to alleviate what emancipationists such as Fanny Lewald termed "die Beschränkung des freien Gebrauchs der angeborenen Fähigkeiten zur eigenen Förderung". In Der Rosendoktor mention is made of women being barred from academic pursuits by professors fearing for their spiritual health, and by male students unreasonably opposed to their presence in the lecture theatres.[17] As a humane and sympathetic individual Frischwachs is dismayed by such folly and intolerance, and is ready to take up arms on behalf of the fairer sex: "Ich wollte kämpfen für ihre Ebenbürtigkeit mit dem Manne, für ihre Gleichwertigkeit im Leben, für ihre seelische Höherwertigkeit".[18] Finckh is here anxious to have his say in what was for him a matter of contemporary social injustice. Attacking, through the medium of his fictional character, the morally unfair treatment of the woman, he clearly rises above this aspect of current social prejudice and inconsistency.

The third major instance in which Frischwachs' function as a social critic is demonstrated concerns the contemporary judicial system. The criticisms expressed here may almost certainly be attributed to Finckh's own experience of jurisprudence, but in the subsequent implied comparison of the latter with the profession of medicine they also bear out the claim of contemporary writers such as Leo Berg who, in his book Der Naturalismus: Zur Psychologie der modernen Kunst (1892), describes the physician as the most dedicated individual, and, more significant, his profession as the most credible branch of science of the period.[19] For Frischwachs the judicial system, to which he had been exposed during his earlier period of study, had unfortunately been neglected in the general intellectual blossoming occasioned by the rise of science. Whereas all other fields of human activity had been revitalised,[20] the field of jurisprudence experienced a lingering stagnation:

> Es gab da ein Gebiet im menschlichen Leben, an dem alle Entwicklung der Neuzeit spurlos vorübergegangen war...die Juristerei sass ruhig auf ihren Lorbeeren, aufgeblasen und dünkelhaft...Rückständig bis in die Knochen und am toten Buchstaben klebend.[21]

Frischwachs' chief criticisms of the contemporary judicial system are the lack of consistency in the verdicts passed by the courts, and, more important, the fact that it did not fully appreciate the true nature of the people who fell foul of it. The concept of abnormal and unconscious motivation in human conduct was a comparatively young branch of medical science when Finckh wrote his novel,[22] but its value is nevertheless fully acknowledged by him in Frischwachs' appraisal of the courts and the practitioners of law:

> Und ich sah mir die Leute an,..die heute Recht sprachen...Mich wunderte, dass sie so wenig wussten vom Menschen, über den sie urteilten und über den sie sich als Richter stellten. Keiner...wusste, wie ein Mensch innerlich gebaut war, wo seine Nerven und Blutgefässe liefen, wie Herz, Lunge und Nieren beschaffen waren...wie konnten junge Menschen und alte Spiesser, die ihre eigene Psyche nicht kannten und dem Nebenmenschen niemals psychologisch nahe kamen, sich ein Urteil über andrer Menschen Inneres herausnehmen? Wie konnten sie einen kranken Menschen verstehen, der doch anders handelt als ein gesunder, und über Menschen urteilen, wenn sie nicht ihre Schmerzen verstanden, die uns doch alle auf Irrwege treiben?[23]

As a former student of jurisprudence Frischwachs may speak with some authority on the legal procedure he finds so obsolete. By taking up medicine, however, he gains the insight with which to criticize the former, and thereby demonstrates the superiority of the medical scientist over both judge and lawyer in the evaluation of human situations.

Finckh's story of the country doctor who eventually retires to the cultivation of his roses is, despite its simplistic form and relative obscurity, a valuable document of the times. Its major character, Frischwachs, fulfils the important function of analyzing and criticizing the changing world of the late nineteenth century. In doing so he not only reveals the transformation in intellectual life occasioned by the ascendence of the natural sciences, but also exposes both positive and potentially negative effects of their rise, as well as attacking significant areas of contemporary social weakness and inconsistency. Most strikingly, however, in Frischwachs' criticism of the current judicial system the novel demonstrates the distinctive superiority and suitability of the scientific physician when acting as a social critic, on account of his superlative insight into the reality of social situations. Furthermore, as a physician not merely concerned with purely medical data and experiment, Frischwachs combines the analytic chores of the scientist with the sympathetic regard of the humanitarian, both of which are indispensable to the successful accomplishment of his role. In this blend of scientific objectivity and spiritual awareness Finckh provides an example of what course man's overall progress should take. In the next work to be discussed here, however, Gerhart Hauptmann's drama Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889), the physician cuts a somewhat different figure, who, despite exposing the dangers of technical civilisation, is himself a reminder of its potentially disastrous consequences.[24]

While Der Rosendoktor reflects both the rise of the natural sciences and the social implications thereof, as well as revealing certain areas in need of social reform, Vor Sonnenaufgang, Hauptmann's first naturalistic play, is more concerned with the effects of the vast industrialization which overtook Germany, and which provided the most obvious display of German pre-eminence during the nineteenth century.

Although German industry had experienced an initial dramatic upswing with the spread of railways and an increasing demand for iron and coal during the eighteen-fifties, an ensuing massive application of science, particularly chemistry, a careful scrutiny of foreign economic development and organization, a banking system geared closely to industrial expansion and the unification of the German Empire in 1871 which signified the introduction of a standard monetary system, the acquisition of rich mineral deposits in Alsace-Lorraine, as well as a substantial population increase, all enabled German industrial progress to accelerate at a tremendous rate. Although in 1870 Germany constituted a collection of still largely agricultural states, by 1910 it had emerged as the leading industrial power of Europe and by world standards remained second only to the United States in the production of iron and steel.[25] Of vital necessity to Germany's phenomenal industrial growth were raw materials, an efficient transportation system and a steady supply of industrial fuels. These, in the form of coal, were in abundant supply throughout the country, most notably in the Ruhr, the Saar and Upper Silesia. Although the most significant coalfields lay in the Ruhr area, Upper Silesian coal, which began to be mined in earnest only after the railway expansion which linked the region with the rest of the country in the 1870's, amounted by the end of the nineteenth century to over one fifth of Germany's total coal production.[26] It is in Upper Silesia that Hauptmann sets the scene for Vor Sonnenaufgang, a drama concerned with the effect of the coal-mining upon the local inhabitants, and a work, the scepticism of which constitutes a poignant counter to the optimism and belief in technological progress which many intellectuals of the day held as valid.[27] This scepticism is conveyed more than any other character by the physician Schimmelpfennig, a figure, as will be seen, of exceptional significance for the disclosures of this first chapter.

The discovery of rich coal seams beneath Silesian agricultural land has caused the local farmers to forsake their traditional labours for the excessive profits this vitally important source of fuel brings. Unfortunately, the inhabitants are unable to adjust to their new-found wealth, and squander their money lavishly and foolishly. This is most evident in the members of the Krause family, whose vulgar opulence has resulted in a degeneration manifested above all in the alcoholism which afflicts them. Exploitation of the working classes is also rife, as the Krause labourers are grossly underpaid and undernourished, and steal in order to supplement their meagre income. In Hoffmann, Krause's son-in-law, entrepreneurial acumen is overshadowed by dishonesty, as he has been able to entice some of the farmers, who had drunk too much champagne, into signing over their coal rights against an absurdly low rental. To this corrupt and degenerate neighbourhood comes Loth, an utopian idealist, yet with direct experience of the harsh and inhuman working conditions which industrialization had created.[28] Loth's intention is to improve the social environment upon a radical scale, and he meets and falls in love with Helene, Krause's second daughter, who has managed to remain untainted by the degeneracy around her. Neither his social intentions, nor his affair with Helene lead, however, to any positive conclusion, as he is made aware of the enormous spiritual depravity of the region as well as of its problem of alcoholism by a former friend of his, the physician Schimmelpfennig. Forsaking Helene because he fears she might have inherited the same alcoholic traits as the rest of her family, he leaves the area and gives up any ideas of attempting to improve his condition. The play ends with the suicide of Helene and an overall social situation remaining fundamentally the same as at the outset of the action. Vor Sonnenaufgang thus may be said to reflect the coming to an agrarian community of the industrial age with all its accompanying ugliness, danger and problematic implications for the local population.[29] Based upon the actual experiences of Silesian peasantry, the play reveals the shocking effects of transformed material conditions upon them.[30]

Amidst the obscene richness and miserable squalor of the drama's setting the physician Schimmelpfennig has maintained a practice for six years, and, despite not appearing until the third act of the play and remaining entirely absent throughout the fourth, he is an important dramatic figure, able, unlike anyone else, to remain aloof from, and uncorroded by the pitiful conditions in which he works.

Quite early on in the drama a description of him is given by Hoffmann, according to which he appears as a particularly conscientious individual, yet one in whom a curious fusion of hardness and sentimentality is present:

> Meinetwegen, jedenfalls hat unser Arzt
> Gewissen. Er ist nämlich auch so'n
> Stück Ideologe, halb und halb unser
> Schlag-reüssiert schauderhaft unter
> Bergleuten und auch unter dem Bauernvolk.
> Man vergöttert ihn geradezu. Zuzeiten
> übrigens 'n recht unverdaulicher Patron,
> 'n Mischmasch von Härte und Sentimentalität.[31]

Schimmelpfennig's concern for the underprivileged, which is expressed in the above passage, is later confirmed by one of Krause's workers: "A iis...na kurz un gutt, a hoot mit'n oarma Mensche a Mitleed:-A kefft'n de Med'zin, und a verlangt nischt. A kimmt zu jeder Zeet..."[32] Schimmelpfennig's hardness, however, is also very much in evidence in the play, particularly in the fifth act, in an important discussion with his former friend Loth. In this instance, a situation in which Hauptmann allows his medical character to speak out fully and critically, the sympathetic, sentimental aspect of Schimmelpfennig's disposition is heavily outweighed. Loth, complaining bitterly of the injustice of social life, has certain fixed ideals, similar to those expressed by contemporaries of the scientific age, but not, of course, grounded in the material success the period undoubtedly produced:[33]

> Mein Kampf ist ein Kampf um das Glück
> aller: sollte ich glücklich sein, so

> müssten es erst alle anderen Menschen um mich herum sein; ich müsste um mich herum weder Krankheit noch Armut, weder Knechtschaft noch Gemeinheit sehen.[34]

Although these words may well reflect circumstances which Hauptmann was anxious to condemn, their inherent criticism merely amounts to what Schimmelpfennig has already evaluated and come to accept. The latter, while not criticizing the objectives of his friend's idealism, is well aware of the insurmountable difficulties which would be involved in any attempt to realize them. His work in the area, which apparently sometimes occupies him for twenty-two hours of the day, has brought him into close contact with both the undernourished and hostile poor, and the extravagant, champagne-drinking rich.[35] Aware of the region's social degeneration resulting from alcoholism, gluttony and incest, as well as of the true nature of deceiving capitalistic entrepreneurs such as Hoffmann,[36] he rejects Loth's idealism as mere fanciful rapture:

> Was ihr da alles nötig habt, um flott zu bleiben, Glauben, Liebe, Hoffnung. Für mich ist das Kram. Es ist eine ganz simple Sache: die Menschheit liegt in der Agonie, und unsereiner macht ihr mit Narkoticis die Sache so erträglich als möglich.[37]

Schimmelpfennig is unable to associate himself with Loth's cause because he regards it as futile. For him there is no immediate hope of drastic social improvement, although there remains the possibility of easing somewhat the sick condition into which man has floundered. The doctor's sobering assessment of the circumstances which Loth had hoped to transform, constitutes, moreover, an ironic twist to the penchant for truth characteristic of the scientific age, which had been described by Rudolf Virchow as being the greatest boon of the times, being inextricably linked with the concept of progress.[38] The truth that Schimmelpfennig recognizes is a reality steeped in degeneration and depravity, a condition ultimately caused by the same industrial progress which had stunned Germany's economic rivals. To the doctor, the community of Vor Sonnenaufgang represents an environment unable to adjust incorruptibly and decently to the new conditions of a technological age, a failure which subsequently creates a social problem too extensive to be engaged successfully.[39] The social criticism of Schimmelpfennig is much more severe than that of his counterpart in Der Rosendoktor, for the absence of spiritual values in the face of a rising scientific technology, which Frischwachs in this work had detected and regarded as a potential danger, already confronts the physician of Vor Sonnenaufgang as an accomplished fact. As he is unable to overcome, or even check the disastrous social problems now firmly entrenched, Schimmelpfennig's function in this instance consists in exposing the extent of their appalling nature, and in dispelling any idealistic hopes of immediate, or even long-term improvement.[40]

Another area in which Hauptmann's physician appears as a more extreme exponent of social criticism than Finckh's character, concerns the social position of the woman. Although he describes himself, with justification, as a confirmed doctor, Schimmelpfennig is also practising medicine in the region because of its high financial rewards.[41] In order not to be disturbed in his moneymaking he even estranges himself from his former friends, and he announces that he will retire from the medical profession as soon as he has amassed sufficient capital to ensure his material independence.[42] The practical materialism exhibited here, while certainly reflecting the entrepreneurial, competitive spirit of the times, is directed, however, to a positive, if ultimately undefined end concerned with the problems of marriage and women's emancipation. Yet while engaging himself in such issues, it seems that Schimmelpfennig is not concerned to accept the conventional arguments for women's equality, but is more interested in condemning the social concept of marriage and its associated idea of the husband. In this he is perhaps an early expounder of views expressed more fully in Hauptmann's novel Atlantis (1912) regarding the natural right of the mother to bear children without the social sanction of marriage.[43] Moreover, while there is no definite statement, there are indications in the play that Schimmelpfennig's ultimate objective is the establishment of some form of society produced by eugenic means, which again is a theme taken up by Hauptman in his later novel.[44] In Vor Sonnenaufgang Loth's conviction that absolute physical and mental health is essential for both marriage partners, and the proposed marriage between Helene, a level-headed, tolerant and intelligent girl, and Frau Krause's uncouth, vulgar, senseless and vicious nephew Kahl, may be taken as warnings against irresponsible propagation. In addition, Schimmelpfennig informs Loth of the extensive research he has conducted in the area, is horrified by Loth's deliberate question as to whether he had ever considered taking one of its girls to wife, and shortly thereafter reveals to Loth the alcoholism within the Krause family, persuading him that Helene, despite her appearance to the contrary, is genetically impure.[45] Unfortunately, this aspect of the physician's function, which is apparently concerned with eugenics and the role of the woman within it, is not further clarified in Vor Sonnenaufgang and the reader is merely left with the obscure impression of some far-reaching purpose. What, on the other hand, is evident, is the victory of scientific calculation over human emotion in Loth's decision to forsake Helene, after Schimmelpfennig's explanation of her family background. This occurrence, which is in part responsible for Helene's suicide, brings to light the most significant aspect of Schimmelpfennig's role in the drama.

The topic of hereditary affliction, which is the decisive factor in Loth's action, was a popular theme in the medical society of the 1880's. Hauptmann himself mentioned this in his autobiography, but notably, did not agree with the widespread opinion that degeneration in families was mainly the result of excessive alcoholism.[46] Furthermore, the biologist August Weismann had in 1885, four years before Vor Sonnenaufgang appeared, developed a theory from which arose evidence that characteristics acquired during the course of life could not be transmitted hereditarily.[47] As the critic Leroy Shaw mentions, alcoholism is not actually an inherited, but rather an acquired trait of the members of the Krause family, for both Krause and his elder daughter Marthe seem to become drunkards as a result of their newly-gained wealth and considerably increased leisure time, and the fact that Marthe's child dies from cuts received from broken glass while attempting to reach a Schnaps bottle is hardly conclusive proof that it died as a result of an overpowering desire for alcohol.[48] Although Schimmelpfennig admits that certain cases are known in which such hereditary evils have been suppressed,[49] he reflects neither Hauptmann's own beliefs, not the biological truth of the times, and his action in convincing Loth to abandon his intention of marrying Helene is thus scientifically unsound as well as morally questionable. What function then does Schimmelpfennig here fulfil? He acts completely as a cold, but misguided scientific personality who, after condemning Hoffmann as a totally unscrupulous pleasure seeker, persuades Loth to leave Helene within her brother-in-law's group.[50] His advice to his friend not to take from Helene what little she still has,[51] is that of an unfeeling scientific pragmatist unable to spare a consideration for emotional feeling. Worse than this, however, through his pedantic insistence upon invalid and/or disbelieved scientific principles, Schimmelpfennig is led astray from the biological fact that Helene is not necessarily a potential hereditary sufferer of alcoholism. As mentioned above, this error is partly instrumental in causing Helene's death, for, once forsaken by Loth, who represents to her not only a lover, but also the very means of salvation from the wretchedness and corruption in which she is entrapped, she loses her only hope of the better, more decent existence to which she is suited. Schimmelpfennig's mistaken appraisal of Helene's situation thus does not confirm the anticipated ability of the scientific age to alleviate the problems of man, but betrays instead its fallibility and weakness, and exposes the optimism it generated as potentially deceptive.

In Schimmelpfennig, the second of the physicians to be examined in this study, Hauptmann has thus created a figure of important, but diverse functional value. As a scientific realist the doctor realizes the incompatibility of Loth's idealism with the impossible conditions surrounding him, and, while able to cope with the problems of the local population only upon a very limited scale, he may at least offer a complete cure for the misguided, if admirable notions of his friend, by initiating him into the true nature of reality. In doing this, however, Schimmelpfennig also reveals the unfortunate limitations of the scientific age in eradicating the dilemmas of society, and in the matter of Helene's alleged genetic impurity, an issue that both the writer Hauptmann, and the scientist Weismann would have disputed, he is utilized in such a manner as to transmit an even deeper feeling of mistrust of the contemporary enthusiasm and belief in the triumph of scientific progress. The scientific striving for truth, which contemporaries acclaimed and took pride in, and which in Schimmelpfennig's revelation to Loth of mankind's sick condition was ironically still valid, is now in this latter instance exposed as a false lead, for it not only does not take into account the humanitarian appreciation of human emotions, which is a vital component of successful communal existence, but it is also founded upon a lie which bears no comparison with biological fact.

The severe social condemnations of Vor Sonnenaufgang mark it as a work symptomatic of a mind that was never able to commit itself fully and lastingly to the optimistic convictions of nineteenth century technological society. It is known from Hauptmann's friend Behl that the disappointment at the inability of the scientific age to achieve its objectives was a blow which affected the writer right until the very end of his life.[52] The play is then an early example of Hauptmann's social criticism in which the physician does not primarily act as the positive figure of a flourishing age as described earlier in the words of Leo Berg,[53] but instead functions mainly as the incarnation of that same period's materialistic, unfeeling, pragmatic, and, above all, finite characteristics.

The socially problematic consequences of industry and technology which Hauptmann reveals in Vor Sonnenaufgang occur again in his novel Atlantis (1912), the third work to be included in this study.[54] Despite the great increase in national prosperity which Germany's incredible rise as an economic power had made possible, this same development also created labour situations in which sickness, fatigue, monotony, severe working and housing conditions, the disruption of family relationships, as well as the depravity depicted so clearly in the work just discussed above, came to be commonplace.[55] Although between 1881 and 1889 a number of acts were passed which provided major benefits for the working classes, and which made Germany the world's first modern welfare state, militant workers' organizations began to expand rapidly soon after, and their hostility was felt in a series of great strikes which continued through to 1903.[56] For the workers the style of life which Germany's economic rise signified, was one dominated by material production, profit margins, cartel monopolies, but most notably, by the machine. In Hauptmann's novel Atlantis the consequences of this modern technocracy are examined very critically against a background of technical achievement in modern mass transportation.

The action of the novel may be divided into three parts; the first dealing with the sea passage of the eminent bacteriologist Friedrich von Kammacher to America aboard the fast mail steamer Roland, the second with the foundering of the Roland and von Kammacher's subsequent survival, and the third with the doctor's activities in the eastern seaboard states before his eventual return to Germany. Aboard the

Roland the conversations between von Kammacher and the ship's doctor Wilhelm form the basis of significant social criticism, while in the third part of the novel the ideas of von Kammacher's long-time medical friend Peter Schmidt, doctor of the Connecticut township of Meriden, are important. Although the work was written in 1912, its action is set in the same late nineteenth century period as in Vor Sonnenaufgang.

At the outset of the action von Kammacher is a thoroughly disillusioned figure. His world has become, as he puts it, a cold dish on a station lunch-counter for which he has no appetite.[57] His wife is mentally ill beyond all reasonable hope of recovery, and he has recently suffered a great defeat in the medical world which involved the outright rejection of certain of his theories. These, the inner motivations for his decision to leave his homeland, are supplemented by a more immediate reason: his infatuation with a sixteen year old daughter of an artist travelling on the Roland to New York.

As a physician von Kammacher is a problematic character. Having originally studied medicine, in order to be of service to humanity, he had chosen to work in a poor rural district when he could have secured an extremely high income from a Berlin practice.[58] Entering the field of bacteriology, he had soon achieved a position of eminence, and had been an assistant to the great medical scientist Robert Koch.[59] The rejection of his bacteriological theories had dealt him, however, a subsequent heavy blow, but his deepest disappointment was caused by his fundamental inability to adjust to the often dull and technically demanding research which is the essence of a profession which he describes as being dedicated to a decaying vegetation sprung from diseased germs.[60] Appraisals such as this remind one immediately of Schimmelpfennig's sombre words in Vor Sonnenaufgang, and like this figure, von Kammacher is expressing an ultra-realistic view of social aspects of an age which otherwise enthralled many with its material achievements. Whereas, however, Schimmelpfennig will only leave the practice of medicine for some definite if undefined social purpose, von Kammacher decides to forsake it because he is not spiritually mature for it: "Ich eigne mich nicht zum Arzt. Ich kann den Menschen das Opfer nicht bringen, eine Beschäftigung beizubehalten, die mich traurig, ja schwermütig macht."[61]

The exteme sensitivity to the problem of human suffering, which is inherent in von Kammacher's rejection of the medical profession, is, on the other hand, a character-trait which influences his point of view in the important critical discussions with Dr. Wilhelm.[62] He is, however, also sensitive to the positive technological achievements of his times, which are epitomized in the novel by the Roland itself, and by the vessel it passes on the high seas, the Fürst Bismarck. Seeing the former for the first time as it rides at anchor off the English coast, von Kammacher is deeply impressed, and experiences a sensation of pride and elation:

> Noch nie hatte Friedrich von der Macht des menschlichen Ingeniums, vor dem echten Geiste der Zeit, in der er stand, einen gleichen Respekt gefühlt wie beim Anblick

> dieser schwarz aus dem schwarzen Wasser
> steigenden riesigen Wand, dieser ungeheuren
> Fassade, die aus endlosen Reihen runder
> Luken Lichtströme auf eine schäumende
> Aue vor dem Wind geschützter Fluten warf.[63]

An even more spectacular sight is that of the Fürst Bismarck, one of the mightiest ships of its day, passing by on the high seas not fifty metres distant, rolling and pounding in the gleam of its thousand lights.[64] Such a display, the vital breath of an atmosphere which is no less necessary to the mind of the modern man than air is to his lungs,[65] represents to von Kammacher a victory of man's technological genius over Nature itself, a sentiment very much in accordance with the intellectual outlook of the times:

> ...ein Anblick wie dieser eben genossene
> muss einem doch bis auf die Knochen
> imponieren. Es ist einfach toll, dass
> ein solches durch Hand und Geist des
> Menschen zusammengestelltes Produkt
> geheimer Naturkräfte, eine solche
> Schöpfung über der Schöpfung, ein solches
> Schiff nur möglich geworden ist.[66]

During the course of the ensuing discussion between von Kammacher and Wilhelm the technological age receives, particularly in the accolades of the latter, what must rank as amongst the highest of tributes. The period is enthusiastically described by Wilhelm as merely the beginning of a development in which technical progress, the only genuine reform of human conditions, is in eternal revolution, inexorable and implacable in its course.[67] Von Kammacher rounds this off by expressing the optimistic hope that the resultant civilisation will be free of the deceptions, illusions, corruptions and profligacy which beset man at present:

> Hoffen wir also... dass die letzte Stunde der grossen, auf uns gekommenen Spiegelfechter, Gaukler, südseeinsulanischen Medizinmänner und Zauberer nicht mehr ferne ist und dass alle Flibuster und zynischen Freibeuter, die vom Seelenfang leben und seit Jahrhunderten gelebt haben, vor dem schnellen und sicheren Meerschiff der Zivilisation, das den Intellekt zum Kapitän und die Humanität zum einzigen Hausverwalter hat, die Segel streichen.[68]

Such idealism, which constitutes a typical acknowledgement of the period,[69] was for a period firmly upheld by Hauptmann himself, but although he never doubted that the achievements of the late nineteenth century were part of some overall positive providential programme, he realized too that the course upon which modern civilisation had embarked, would eventually lead it astray.[70] Accordingly, the process von Kammacher describes, by which civilisation, through the agency of humane and scientifically intellectual principles, was to enter an age of truth and harmony, represents a vision which he is unable to envisage as a concrete fact. Like Hauptmann, he has become sceptical, and can no longer believe in the ability of current technological society to disperse the difficulties confronting man: "Er trug jenen Glauben an die alleinseligmachende Kraft der Wissenschaft und des modernen Fortschritts zur Schau, der ihn eigentlich schon verlassen hatte."[71] Thus, despite the fact that the material achievements of the scientific age, such as the powerful ocean liners which cross in mid-Atlantic, do not fail to impress him, von Kammacher is not deterred from noticing the shortcomings of the modern world, an obvious example of which is readily provided by the author in the death of one of the Roland's stokers. The fate of this unfortunate victim of civilisation, this modern galley-slave, still covered with the sweat of his fearful occupation, is for Hauptmann a bitter consequence of a society made subservient to its own technology and machinery, and provides a starting point for von Kammacher's harsh and penetrative analysis of modern existence:[72]

> Ich fürchte,..dass der weltumspannende Verkehrsapparat, der angeblich im Besitze der Menschheit ist, vielmehr seinerseits die Menschheit besitzt. Wenigstens sehe ich bis jetzt noch nichts davon, dass die ungeheuren Arbeitskräfte der Maschinen die zu leistende Menschenarbeit verringert hätten. Die moderne Maschinensklaverei ist die imposanteste Sklaverei, die es jemals gegeben hat; aber sie ist eine Sklaverei! Wenn man fragt, ob das Zeitalter der Maschinen das menschliche Elend vermindert hat, muss man bis jetzt mit Nein antworten. - Ob es das Glück und die Möglichkeit zum Glück gesteigert hat? Wiederum lautet bis jetzt die Antwort: Nein![73]

The phenomenon of modern technocracy, in which the individual is constantly enslaved in a monotonous and often dangerous mechanical process, is fiercely condemned here in von Kammacher's words. Wilhelm, on the other hand, despite the somewhat damaging admission that modern civilisation is parsimonious of everything save what is best in the individual,[74] can only stress his belief in its ability, to sever humanity once and for all from the worst savageries of the past.[75] The ominous reply made by von Kammacher is that of a deeper-seeing and more realistic observer:

> "Wissen Sie das ganz gewiss?" fragte Friedrich, "und finden Sie es nicht sonderbar, wie neben den höchsten Errungenschaften der Wissenschaft, Spektralanalyse, Gesetz von der Erhaltung der Kraft und so weiter, die altesten Köhlerirrtümer immer noch machtvoll fortbestehen? Ich bin nicht so sicher, dass ein Rückfall selbst in die grauenvollsten Zeiten des Malleus maleficarum unmöglich ist!"[76]

The significance of these words, written only a very short time before the outbreak of the First World War, is remarkable. While they reflect a positive admiration for the technological achievements of the nineteenth century, they also betray a profound, and soon to be justified mistrust of the period's reputed omnipotence and infallibility in the resolving of man's dilemmas. What von Kammacher criticizes is an age of technological achievement which can no longer serve man in the manner originally hoped and expected. Whereas Wilhelm, as a convinced admirer of the wonders of modern science, readily places his confidence in the ability of the age to complete its quest for the ultimate truth in the problems of life, von Kammacher is already aware that such trust is founded upon an illusion. His sobering reply to Wilhelm's idealism is a realistic assessment of a technological civilisation no longer able to control its own course, and a warning to beware of cultural decline.

The discerning and somewhat alarming contents of the physicians' discussion form perhaps the most significant criticism so far of the scientific age, and reveal the ambivalence of Hauptmann's own feelings towards its trends. Wilhelm's trusting sentiments, for example, are expressed exactly in a passage in the writer's autobiography, while von Kammacher's doubts find an echo in the acceptance speech for the Nobel prize for literature in 1912, in which Hauptmann distinguishes between the concepts of false and genuine progress, the former furthering the cause of human conflict, the latter that of peace. Von Kammacher's demure admonition reflects Hauptmann's conclusion as to which of these alternatives civilisation had chosen.[77]

The warning contained in the doctors' conversation is more definitive and urgent than the cautionary observations given in the previous works analyzed here. The prophetic reference to a dreadful period of catastrophe foreshadows the harsh world of 1914 in which modern technology for the first time played a major role in the process of destruction, and in which human values were totally supplanted. The symptoms of these developments, particularly of the latter, are readily apparent in von Kammacher's ominous declaration, which must remain, along with works such as Georg Heym's poem Der Krieg (1911), among the most significant apocalyptic visions of impending disaster of the times.

Elsewhere, on the other hand, another discussion with Wilhelm provides von Kammacher with the opportunity to suggest an alternative to the contemporary social conditions. Despite entitling himself an ideological bankrupt, he also appears to cherish an incomprehensible desire to restore the world to harmony.[78] The nearest he comes to explaining how this purpose would be achieved, is in the form of a thought expressed to his colleague not long after he has boarded ship. As with the criticism of machine-age labour, von Kammacher's comments are prompted by a concrete example of suffering, in this case of an unmarried pregnant girl who, in order to escape social degradation, has joined the ship in order to have her child.[79] The question of women's rights, which von Kammacher now takes up, sheds light on the vague remarks of Schimmelpfennig in Vor Sonnenaufgang, contains concepts which are much more exteme than the ideas of Frischwachs in Der Rosendoktor, and embodies the germ of a social theory with possible eugenic implications. For von Kammacher strictly conventional views on women's equality do not consider the real issue at stake:

> Den lebendigen Keimpunkt jeder Reform des Frauenrechts,..muss das Mutterbewusstsein bilden. Die Zelle des zukünftigen Zellenstaats, der einen gesünderen sozialen Körper darstellen wird, ist das Weib mit Mutterbewusstsein. Die grossen Reformatorinnen der Frauenwelt sind nicht diejenigen, deren Absicht es ist, es den Männern in jeder Beziehung gleichzutun, sondern jene, die sich bewusst werden, dass jeder, auch der grösste Mann, durch ein Weib geboren ist...Das Naturrecht des Weibes ist das Recht auf das Kind...Man hat die Geburt eines Kindes, sofern sie nicht durch einen Mann sanktioniert ist, unter den Schwefelregen allgemeiner

> und öffentlicher Verachtung gestellt... Bildet eine Liga der Mütter, würde ich den Frauen raten,..und jedes Mitglied bekenne sich, ohne auf Sanktion des Mannes, das heisst auf die Ehe, Rücksicht zu nehmen,..durch lebendige Kinder, zur Mutterschaft.[80]

Von Kammacher not only here attacks the emancipation movement for not fully considering the plight of the unmarried mother, he also rails against the callous and inconsistent nature of a society which directs its enmity at innocent and suffering quarters. Yet although in urging women to break the fetters of conventional morality by bearing children regardless of social restrictions, von Kammacher is by no means advocating the concept of unrestricted and irresponsible sexual relationships, his interpretation of the question of women's emancipation as the unhindered right to motherhood is problematic and difficult to defend. Not only do the needs of a child born out of such a situation remain ultimately unconsidered, but it is also open to question whether such "emancipated" women could really contribute to a sounder organization of society, as von Kammacher claims. Furthermore, the characteristically eugenic inference of a motherhood ensuing solely from a healthy and happy womanhood may be potentially dangerous, for it would be directly exposed to any current ideological trend.[81] In Vor Sonnenaufgang the apparently similar views of Schimmelpfennig had remained strikingly veiled; in Atlantis such ideas only seem to be able to command attention because of von Kammacher's still considerable medical reputation.[82]

Thus while such theories may in part reflect contemporary popular intellectual topics, they remain both futuristic and utopian, and are not convincing as practicable social programmes. Von Kammacher admits himself that he has inherited an instinct for ideal rather than practical activity,[83] and this reinforces the impression that while his criticism of the woman question is seriously meant, his suggestion of a future healthy social order founded upon a liberated maternal instinct is merely the airing of an opinion, the practicability and implementation of which have been given but perfunctory consideration.

The appraisal of modern society in the first section of Atlantis is subsequently characterized by a predominant mistrust and scepticism. Technical progress, while going far to aid man in the conquest of his environment, also creates urgent new problems which lead him into critical situations, and in the second part of the novel the function of the physician in stressing this fact is supplemented by the circumstances in which the Roland founders upon the high seas. Although the ship, which for von Kammacher had epitomized all that was good in the technological age, is constantly able to withstand the very worst seas that Nature may pit against it, it is swiftly wrecked after striking against a drifting derelict vessel, another product of man's scientific ingenuity. The warning given here, that the apparent triumph of man's technological skills over the forces of Nature could ironically become the agent of his own nemesis, is plain.

In the final section of Atlantis von Kammacher, having been rescued from the sea, along with a few others, by the freighter Hamburg, is reunited with his former friends now living in the United States. Among these is the physician Peter Schmidt, who maintains a medical practice among the poor immigrant workers of the Connecticut township of Meriden, occasionally accepting a meagre fee, but, true to his beliefs, more often than not waiving it for the benefit of his impoverished patients. In spite of the hardships he suffers, which result not only from a practice described as a strange treadmill, set in a world of everlasting suffering and dying,[84] but also from the sentiments of his homesick wife, Schmidt is continually fired by an idealism which lifts him above the difficulties of his environment. The ideals which fortify him are grounded in an unshakeable, but by no means religious belief in the ultimate triumph of goodness:

> Es gab keinen Menschen, der einen stärkeren Glauben an den Sieg des Guten in der Welt besass als Peter Schmidt, der im übrigen jeden religiösen Glauben verurteilte. Er gehörte zu denen, die den Garten Eden verwerfen, den jenseitigen Himmel für ein Märchen erklären, dagegen fest überzeugt sind, dass die Erde sich zum Paradies, der Mensch zur Gottheit darin entwickeln werde.[85]

Rejecting the transcendent beliefs of Christianity, Schmidt's social idealism is in essence an enigmatic synthesis of the two most significant intellectual trends of the nineteenth century, the social philosophies of Marx and Darwin, in which the former is apparently dominated by the latter:

> Im Geiste Peter Schmidts bahnte sich eine Art Ausgleich oder Verschmelzung dieser Persönlichkeiten an. Immerhin war dabei das christlich - marxistische Prinzip des Schutzes der Schwachen durch das Naturprinzip des Schutzes der Starken ersetzt worden.[86]

The two principles form the poles of Schmidt's social thought and confront each other in an apparently contradictory relationship. While the protection of the weaker is his prime concern in an active sense, as is shown by his generosity and humanitarianism among his impoverished patients, the protection of the stronger could only be achieved at the expense of the less fit and suitable. In Schmidt's subsequent assertive declaration to von Kammacher's artist friends, however, this point remains unconsidered:

> Es wird ein Tag kommen, wo die künstliche Zuchtwahl unter den Menschen obligatorisch ist...Es wird dann auch mal ein anderer, noch schöner Tag heraufkommen, wo Leute wie wir unter den Menschen höchstens wie etwa heut die afrikanischen Buschmänner mitzählen werden.[87]

The notion of an eugenically produced society which, for Schmidt, represents the ultimate object of medical science,[88] was a fashionable theme in medical circles of the late nineteenth century. Diepgen describes, for example, how in the latter years of the period medical thought became increasingly intrigued with biological problems of life such as heredity, environmental impregnation and racial development.[89] In 1883 Sir Francis Galton's Inquiries into Human Faculty was published in which the word "eugenic" appeared for the first time, coined out of interest in another favourite contemporary theme, the evolution theory. For Galton eugenics signified a branch of science which dealt with all that improved the inborn qualities of a race, and was thus concerned, among other things, with retarding the birth-rate of the unfit, and with replacing the procedure of natural selection by other processes designed to prevent suffering. As already indicated, however, the implications of such a social philosophy can be alarming, as the concept of a superior, genetically pure race may be easily influenced by various ideological factors such as those which were witnessed in Germany after 1933.[90] Even though Schmidt most certainly does not have any such sinister schemes in mind when asserting his views, there does remain for him, however, the subsequent dilemma that in adopting even moderate eugenist principles, he is forsaking his primary and traditional duty as a physician to employ his scientific knowledge and skills to enable the weaker to survive. The controversial, socially problematic nature of Schmidt's contention is asknowledged by Hauptmann, who has the artists burst into laughter at the announcement of the doctor's views, and, significantly, the writer does not introduce the topic in any of his later works.[91] It appears too that Peter Schmidt, while perhaps a more vigorous character than von Kammacher, gives voice to his idealistic thoughts in much the same fashion as the latter, as no workable means of accomplishing the proposed objectives is offered, and no mention of ensuing social problems is made. Accordingly, neither physician is convincing as the exponent of practicable social alternatives to the technocracy or poverty which they may readily detect. What they do reflect, when voicing their idealistic thoughts, is thus not a well-considered social philosophy, but a fusion of some of the popular topical interests which made the rounds of the contemporary medical and intellectual circles with which Hauptmann was in contact.

The atmosphere of Hauptmann's novel Atlantis is thus essentially critical. Neither the positivistic outlook of Wilhelm, nor the socialistic-scientific values of Peter Schmidt, nor, of course, von Kammacher's own vague idealism fails to disrupt this overall impression.[92] In a purely medical sense, however, Peter Schmidt is the most positive figure in the two works of Hauptmann studied in this chapter. The impoverished society his practice serves at Meriden is yet another example of the harsh and struggle-filled existence which Schimmelpfennig had diagnosed as the unfortunate lot of man in Vor Sonnenaufgang. Schmidt's exploited patients, like the dead stoker of the Roland and the unfortunates lost in its sinking, are all the victims of an unfeeling technological civilisation in which human values recede before technical practicality and capitalistic expediency. In such a world the active Christian-Marxian function of protecting the weaker, which Schmidt performs in Meriden, is a difficult and thankless, but vitally important duty of the physician.[93]

The most significant function in the novel is fulfilled however, by its leading figure, von Kammacher. In his exposure of the disdain of technical ingenuity for individual human values he touches upon a grave intrinsic weakness, and issues a blatant warning that civilisation, far from heading into an age free of barbarism and cruelty as his colleague Wilhelm had believed, is impregnated with the seeds of its own destruction and is destined for possible catastrophe. These apprehensions were fully justified barely two years after the novel appeared with the outbreak of the First World War.

While it has been seen that Germany's social well-being was endangered, as well as, of course, enhanced by her scientific-technological development, other factors too contributed to an underlying faultiness which was easy to overlook in the glow of the country's economic prosperity. This latter element was of course obviously reflected by the immense industrial capacity, great financial capability and vast foreign trade which had been built up, and, while this economic and commercial power was achieving such spectacular growth rates, by a colonial empire which by 1913 covered more than a million square miles. To back all this up the nation also possessed the most powerful single army on earth, and was building a naval force rapidly achieving parity with even the huge British fleets. Further signs of prosperity were the improved appearances of German cities, with wider streets and avenues, new buildings and shiny electric trams, and, with the spread of electrification particularly after 1895, many new conveniences in the German homes such as central heating, bathrooms and kitchen improvements. The mood of this prosperous land is well summed-up by Koppel Pinson, who describes how even on the eve of the First World War Germany was regarded by all within her to have entered "upon a glorious stage of economic prosperity and comfort".[94] The neglect of human values in Germany's period of technical advancement has already been reviewed as an intrinsic social weakness. To this, more "concrete" reservations concerning the structure of the country's wealthy economy must now be added. In spite of what was felt in Germany immediately prior to the First World War, serious social problems involving the working classes existed and remained ultimately unresolved. Mention has already been made of the disadvantageous working conditions in the new factories and workshops.[95] In addition to this, a widespread cause of complaint arose from a pay-scale which left much to be desired. In 1910 over forty per cent of the population, for example, received less than 900 marks per year with an average working week of sixty hours. Moreover, the increase in real wages between 1890 and 1914 remained only at one per cent per year, whereas in Great Britain, France and the United States the increase amounted to four per cent.[96]

As the grievances of the workers increased, the relations between the ever-growing political party of the lower classes, the Social Democrats, and the Imperial government worsened, and the emperor himself made tactless and threatening speeches which did much to inflame the growing social tensions which existed beneath the country's outstanding economic growth.[97] A much more notable source of danger, however, that produced international and not merely domestic repercussions, resulted from Germany's far-reaching political ambitions which, after the dismissal of Bismarck in March, 1890, became increasingly characterized by inept and irresponsible diplomacy and presumptious arrogance. Although it appears reasonable that Germany, in view of her ascendence to one of the top three economic powers in the world, should only regard the development of a corresponding political status as justified, the errors committed in attempting to achieve this, resulted, as early as 1907, in her complete isolation among the Great Powers, except for her relations with Austria-Hungary.[98] The precariousness of this situation, which after this date rapidly became even more perilous, remained, however, obscured by the country's industrial and commercial prominence, and by a belief in the invincibility of the German army.[99] The glowing surface of Wilhelminian prosperity, while still an object of universal admiration, could thus be said to be merely a cover for, on the one hand, a dangerously deep split between the working classes and the government, and, on the other hand, a vulnerable situation of political alienation. In 1913, however, the year which marked the twenty-fifth anniversay of Wilhelm II's accession as German emperor, the predominant feeling in Germany was one of self-satisfaction and optimism, while the considerable dangers to the country's continued well-being remained overlooked. In the final literary work to be studied in this chapter, Josef Ponten's novelle Die Bockreiter (1919), a similar situation, together with its consequences, is reflected in parabolic form.[100]

Ponten, who was born in 1883 in Raeren, a village situated near the then German town of Eupen, spent his earliest years in rustic surroundings before his family moved to the nearby city of Aachen. Later, after studying philosophy at Bonn, he returned to the border city and took up architecture and the history of art. He travelled widely throughout Europe, and continued to do so even after his marriage to Julia von Broich, the daughter of a local nobleman. During the First World War he served extensively in the eastern campaigns, and finally settled in Munich in 1920. Among his works, which reflect a strong feeling for the common people, some of the most notable are Der babylonische Turm (1918), Die Insel (1918), Die Bockreiter (1919), and Der Gletscher (1923). He died in Munich in 1940.

The source for Ponten's novelle is an obscure work of the Kohlscheid parson J.J. Michel, Die Bockreiter von Herzogenrath, Valkenburg und Umgebung, which in turn was based upon the exploits of an eighteenth century robber band active in the area. The band was made up of army deserters, local workers, farmers, town officials and even members of the aristocracy, and was led by three brothers, one of whom was a surgeon. Most of the robbers were eventually captured and hanged, and by 1776 nothing more was heard of them or their symbol of the goat. In Ponten's hands the story undergoes some changes. The area in which his Bockreiter are active is a fabulous land of rich and plenty called Übermass. Although wars are being waged elsewhere, they are practically unknown in this region where doors and farmyards remain unlocked and unguarded, for, with abundant supplies of all kinds of produce, looting and stealing is practically non-existent. The horses in the fields are fat with grain, cows and goats drag their feed-swollen stomachs across the meadows and corpulent sheep their tails over the stubble. Übermaas thus appears as a region with an extemely high rate of productivity where inflation or economic depression is infinitely distant. Yet the healthy appearance of its luxurious economy is illusory, for the high rate of production and period of economic growth, which had been sustained since the end of long forgotten wars, and which had ensured a continuing peace and prosperity, are in reality faltering, if not already at a stage where they have ceased to exist. Boredom and monotony, rather than economic vitality, are the true characteristics of Übermaas, for the overproduction of all types of commodities has reduced the necessity for continued labour, and has encouraged indolence and inactivity:

> Der Bauer kratzt die Ackerkrume ein wenig mit dem Pfluge, denn es wächst ja alles fast von selbst...Die Maurer stehen lässig auf dem Gerüste und mauern wie zum Zeitvertreibe, denn es gibt ja genug Häuser im Lande, und jeder Knecht fast bewohnt seine eigene Kammer. Auf den Landstrassen schleichen die Eier - und Butterwagen in die Stadt, der Kutscher schläft; was kümmert es ihn, ob er vom Mitbewerber überholt wird? Er schläft, das glatte Pferd trabt wie es will, bleibt stehen und weidet am Strassengraben. Ein Pferd, das den Kutscher schlafen wusste, drehte um und ging nach dem Stalle zurück...[101]

Escape from such static, slothful conditions is offered by the Bockreiter, an ultra-secret society, which, unlike the robber band described by Michels, injects the elements of humourous adventure and excitement, as well as social justice when necessary, into a materially rich, but spiritually impoverished community. Actions of the band subsequently range from playing practical jokes upon the clergy to the decision to submerge a local nobleman in the waters of his own moat, as a lesson to treat his workers in a more decent manner. The leader is the respected physician, Kirchhoff, who exercises a firm control over his fellow members. Despite this, however, the spirit of adventure which he has instilled into the community develops rapidly into an unchecked chaos as the lighthearted pranks and socially corrective undertakings of the Bockreiter give way to malicious and totally irresponsible acts which result in violence and death. Although the band is consequently dissolved, the unleashed malevolence intensifies until all vestige of social order disappears, and Übermaas becomes a theatre of action for numerous marauding groups of plunderers, a situation which is only corrected by a harsh period of enforced martial law. Many of the robbers are caught and executed, among them members of the original Bockreiter, including Kirchhoff himself who is arrested and meets his death upon the scaffold. His end is summed up knowingly by the village priest: "Fahrlässig ist er gewesen. Er hat nicht die Bosheit der Menschen in Rechnung gesetzt."[102]

Although initially Die Bockreiter, with its imaginary land of idleness and luxury, its mischievous characters and its bizarre pranks, seems to be more of a lighthearted fairy-tale than an attempt at serious literature, the fabulous cockaigne and the chaos which later destroys it become highly significant themes when the work is viewed as a parabolic account of European, in particular German, affairs preceding and during the First World War. A parabolic element is in fact already evident in the name given to the fool's paradise, Übermaas, which could have geographical significance derived from the river which flows near the area, but which is much more striking in its semantic interpretation, in view of the fantastic descriptions of the amounts of foodstuffs, as well as of the region's high wastage rate described in the work.[103] Parabolic significance is also present in the words of one of the priests of Übermaas, who at one stage in the action describes how once the Israelites, not content with the paradisaic land of milk and honey with which they had been blessed, became ungrateful and presumptuous and thereby incurred the wrath of the Lord.[104] Moreover, Ponten's own remark that the novelle was written before the collapse in 1918, seems to indicate that a clear parallel with contemporary historical events is intended.[105] In a parabolic sense the presumptuous idleness, the foolish indifference, the spiritual depravity and the resulting unleashed emotion which Die Bockreiter depicts can be said to match the rash arrogance and ineptitude in the conduct of Germany's international relations, as well as internal affairs, the overpowering materialism of German life, as revealed by social commentators such as Samuel Saenger and Walther Rathenau in their exposés of the hollow consequences of Wilhelminian prosperity, and the destructive frenzy of the First World War, to the origins of which much of the above contributed.[106] Furthermore, according to the general assessment of Friedrich Reissner, the novelle reflects the eruption "eines dämonischen Weltgefühls, das zum Abenteuerlichen, Nihilistischen strebt und ins Tragische mündet," a description which could well be applied to the war itself.[107] The excitement generated by the activities of the Bockreiter, the ensuing chaos, and the final ruin of the land, all have their historical counterparts in the exuberant, adventurous enthusiasm which accompanied the outbreak of the conflict, the period of senseless destruction which followed it, and, for Germany, the final huniliating defeat and harsh period of aftermath.[108] In both cases an outstanding economy which generates vast material wealth is jeopardized and eventually confronted by future decline and total collapse, and just as Germany's overall position in 1914 was a lot more precarious than the vast majority of her people realized, so too is the predicament of Übermaas at the outset deceptively secure, a condition which appears to concern no one except the more perceptive, yet still ultimately limited physician Kirchhoff.

Kirchhoff, who is both a zealous physician, and a warm philanthropist, is fully cognizant of the true situation of Übermaas.[109] The ridiculous sham that labour has become, and the dullness and sluggish normality of everyday life in the fabulous, yet stagnating land, are well reflected in his complaints: "Wie ungeduldig macht der Gleichtakt des Lebens ...Wie hungert man nach dem Aussergewöhnlichen...Es ist langweilig bei uns...Es geschieht nichts. Es geht nichts vor sich. Man erbricht sich vor Langeweile."[110] Übermaas, as the doctor well knows, is in a dangerous state of sickness due both to an economy which overproduces every kind of material commodity, and to an unfortunate spiritual depravity among the inhabitants.[111] In such an environment of boredom and monotony the seemingly inane deeds of his Bockreiter provide emotional relief through the excitement and danger which accompany them. The prankish, as well as socially corrective undertakings of the band are thus a form of therapy against the stagnant disease afflicting the region, and because of this the same type of stringent regulation applies to them, as would be valid for strictly medical operations, with Kirchhoff, as leader, possessing absolute authority. Stealing, as purely malicious and felonious act, is not tolerated by him, certain acts of excessive fatuity are severely sensured, and the membership of the organization is strictly limited in order to reduce the danger of losing discipline and authority.[112] Under such control all appears to remain generally well, boredom and stagnation are kept at bay, and everyone may benefit accordingly. Die Bockreiter, however, like the historical period it appears to reflect, is a thoroughly negative work, and although Kirchhoff in his recognition of the inner torpidity of Übermaas is more practical and analytical than other social critics in the novelle such as the abbot, or the monk Thomas, he is ultimately unable to master the conditions which oppose him.[113] A fatal blindness to the extent of the emotional power he bestirs in his utilization of the elements of danger and excitement results in the unleashing of destructive forces which ravage the land. In spite of the stringent discipline which Kirchhoff imposes upon his followers, a nun and a peasant girl die as a result of disgraceful and highly frivolous actions, and a third life is claimed when savage violence prevails during an attempt, led by the doctor himself, to instill a sense of humility into an arrogant farmer.[114] The latent deterioration which had been hovering over the land, and which Kirchhoff had always sensed, now proceeds at a rapid rate until the aforementioned period of martial law brings an end to both this and the Bockreiter themselves.

Whereas in the three previous works discussed here the physician is employed via direct and indirect means in an increasingly urgent manner, as a warning voice against the supra-techicalisation and ensuing spiritual decline in man's existence, in Die Bockreiter the danger of social disintegration is so imminent that the initial function of the medical man is no longer to forewarn, but to undertake active measures to forestall the impending disaster. The symptoms of decay in the earlier works, which are manifested above all in the lack of human values and spiritual quality, now develop into a highly critical social situation for which desperate corrective procedures are necessary. Because of this Kirchhoff is a much more socially active figure than his predecessors, but, ultimately unable to control the dangers inherent in his intentions, he can only succumb to the irrationality he had sought to contain. His tragic failure to stem the violence that he always anticipated may well be said to indicate the futile and impotent position of the rational individual pitted against such destructive historical forces as those which broke over Europe in 1914.[115] Although his mistake, succinctly summarised by the priest, casts him somewhat in the role of the classical tragic hero, Kirchhoff is in fact already doomed by the sheer weight of the forces he attempts to divert. In his ineffectiveness in combatting the dangers to which his world is exposed, a harsh indictment of early twentieth century society may be seen.

Apart from instances of specific social criticisms, the overall significance of the function of the physician in this first chapter lies in revealing, and in one instance unsuccessfully resisting, the negative consequences of the materialism and technocracy of the scientific age. In all the works discussed the fundamental basis of social danger is seen to be the lack of human values and spiritual essence in a world blinded by its own material successes, a theme which from the early cautions of Frischwachs in Der Rosendoktor, is intensified in the stark realism of Schimmelpfennig in Vor Sonnenaufgang and the ominous hint of von Kammacher of future total collapse in Atlantis, and which is then fully realised in the barbarity of Die Bockreiter which Kirchhoff is powerless to contain. In his role throughout these works of exposer and/or combatant of socially destructive factors, the physician appears as a sober, sceptical figure who in all instances serves, or has served, at a very basic level in society among the poor and common people when the opportunity of a more attractive position was perhaps available.[116] Because of this he is in constant close contact with the essential problems of man's existence and may thereby gain the superior insight into social affairs, which in this first chapter has been a trademark of his function. In two notable instances, however, the finite nature of even this endowment is strikingly obvious, as the physician commits disastrous judgement errors which contribute to tragedy and violence. Yet the sad plight of the scientific humanitarian in this predicament where he fails totally to appreciate the shortcomings of his own actions is much more a reflection of the inexorable nature of the negative historical forces which penetrate or confront him, than a criticism of his own figure.[117] The real overall significance of the physician in this first chapter thus lies in revealing, in one way or another, the less glamorous, less impressive, and totally negative aspects of a materialistic technical age. In the second section of this study this trend will be seen to continue in the depiction of the chaotic conditions which characterized the immediate post-war period. In the reflection of the social events which followed this, however, the physician also emerges as an important positive force in the reconstruction of a shattered world.

CHAPTER II

WEAKNESS AND RECONSTRUCTION: THE PHYSICIAN'S ROLE IN GERMAN LITERATURE TREATING ASPECTS OF THE COLLAPSE OF 1918 AND ITS AFTERMATH

The close of the First World War heralded a drastic transformation in the political structure of Europe. Four great empires: the Hohenzollern, the Hapsburg, the Romanov and the Ottoman, which in 1914 had extended from the eastern border of France to the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, disappeared into oblivion after, and in one instance during, the course of the hostilities. Germany and what was left of a truncated Austria, which before the conflict had been very much an efficient and highly productive industrial machine and a glittering, though internally weak agglomeration of nationalities, were reduced to virtually bankrupt and, particularly in the case of Germany, deeply divided and revolutionary troubled states forced to acknowledge the payment of devastating reparation sums and massive losses of territory. For Germany the First World War, unlike the Franco-Prussian conflict of 1870 which had marked a decisive stage in the country's emergence as a great power, thus signified the collapse of hitherto upheld systems and values. Whereas the victory of 1871 had driven Germans into each other's arms in a wave of national unity, the defeat of 1918 was followed by a tremendous surge of dissolution across the country not only in a political, but also in a social and a moral sense. The optimistic hopes for future civilization which had been nurtured by the scientific age of the late nineteenth century now lay in ruins, and it was clear, as has already been indicated in the previous literary works discussed here, that scientific-technological achievement did not necessarily represent the immediate key to the solution of man's problems, as originally anticipated, but had in fact been instrumental in facilitating a greatly increased death-toll in a conflict which encompassed continents and involved the participation of all major world powers.

In Germany the dismantling of the Hohenzollern monarchy after 1918 was accompanied and followed by revolutionary chaos.[1] From three main centres, Kiel, where the sailors mutinied against their officers, Munich and Berlin, a spark of rebellion spread throughout the country, and in each major city a Council of Soldiers and Workers was set up to replace the previous authority. Rather than a planned revolt with definite political objectives, these uprisings were in the main merely the actions of an embittered, desparing and war-weary population desirous of peace and a return to normality. In Bavaria, however, the defeat of the Austrians on the Italian front had created widespread and well-founded fears of direct enemy invasion. It also intensified the separatist feelings which many people fostered there, and which were especially popular among the farmers and peasants who had suffered greatly from the harsh economic restrictions imposed upon them by the imperial Government. Accordingly, on November 8th, 1918, a Bavarian Democratic Republic was proclaimed, headed by the Independent Socialist leader Kurt Eisner. In Berlin revolutionary preparations had been made by the Independent Socialists, which after the news of Eisner's coup, as well as the arrest of certain radical writers, were quickly accelerated. Workers were called upon to leave the factories and march upon the government buildings, and Liebknecht, the Spartacist leader proclaimed a socialist republic from the balcony of the Imperial palace. On the same day, November 9th, the impending abdication of the emperor was announced, and the Social Democrat, Ebert, became the new political leader of Germany. Well aware of the power of the Independent Socialists, this future first president of the Weimar Republic proposed that a ruling council of six commissars be formed with them, while Liebknecht, whose communist ideas were too extreme for Ebert, was excluded. The unrest in Berlin was subsequently dissipated with relatively little violence and on November 11th the armistice was signed by the new German authorities to bring an end to the First World War. Two weeks later the revolutionary council set up by Ebert met with the new governments of the various German states and a proclamation was issued in favour of the election of a national assembly, which, at the December 19th Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils was set for January 19th, 1919. A difficult period was to ensue, however, due to the withdrawal of the Independent

Socialists from the ruling council and from all state governments except Bavaria, but more notably, due to the founding of the German Communist Party on December 30th and the policies it was to undertake.

Early in January armed Communists occupied important buildings in Berlin while the government troops remained in their barracks. Eventually a military expert, Gustav Noske, was appointed to quell the insurgents, a feat which after bitter fighting was achieved by January 13th by Noske's deployment of the Freikorps, a force originally formed from the former imperial troops as a defence against Polish harassment in the East. Severe punishment was meted out to the Communist revolutionaries, and their leaders Liebknecht and the Polish Jewess Rosa Luxemburg were arrested and murdered. When the new National Assembly finally convened on February 6th the communists re-initiated their disruptive action by organizing a widespread series of strikes which eventually threw Berlin into a chaos of anarchy and street battles. A severe period of martial law was enforced by Noske and his Freikorps that was not lifted until March 17th, by which time well over a thousand people had lost their lives in the bitter fighting. In Bavaria too, Communist insurrection led to violence and killing. When in March 1919 Hungary became a Communist republic under Bela Kun, it seemed as if Austria would follow this lead. A consequence of this was the setting-up of a Communist government in Munich on April 7th, which, however, was soon to be crushed by the Freikorps and other troops which stormed and captured the city in early May. The brutality of this fighting was appalling, and when it was over, a parliamentary government was formed in which right-wing nationalist sentiments were strong, a breeding ground which was to produce the early beginnings of National Socialism that, among other things, would become the Weimar Republic's sworn enemy.

The turbulence in which the new Germany came into being was continued in the violence and unrest which afflicted the country throughout its early period of existence. A broad realization that the revolution had not brought the working classes much in the way of political benefit, more serious threats such as the Kapp Putsch, armed Communist insurrections in the Ruhr, Saxony and Thuringia and their brutal suppression by the Freikorps, the murders of prominent political figures such as Erzberger and Rathenau, the Hitler *Putsch* and the problem of Rhenish secession, as well as dire economic woes caused by staggering war-debts and a devastating rate of inflation, all left the new state in a dangerously precarious position, and underlined the lack of consistent social order in the aftermath of the war. What could also be regarded as a negative development in the post-war years was the general loosening of ethical and moral standars due in part to the breakdown of the military style of discipline which pervaded German social life prior to 1914. In this respect the brutalization of political life described above in a country renowned for its regimentation and order was supplemented in the Twenties by a marked increase in homosexuality, nudism, eroticism, alcoholism, gambling and other socially less respectable activities. In addition to this there arose in wide circles the feeling that materialism and the technicalisation of existence which, as has been seen, were criticized before the war, had resulted more completely than previously in the spiritual desolation of man's social environment.[2] This orientation, which, according to Pinson, "became even more accentuated and exaggerated by the effects of defeat, inflation and psychological tension,"[3] is clear, for example, in descriptions given by writers such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Hans Carossa, whose works will form an essential part of this chapter, in which the post-war world is portrayed as being unprecedentedly dissolute and spiritually shaken.[4]

A literary reflection of the political, economic and social troubles which beset Germany and Austria before the end of, and in the years following the First World War is provided in Hofmannsthal's two versions of the tragedy Der Turm (1924-27).[5] The plays were the result of the writer's protracted concern with material originally derived and subsequently considerably altered from a reading of Calderon's La vida es sueno in 1902. The first version of the tragedy was not, however, completed until October, 1924, with the final form appearing three years later, but the intervening war-years had pushed the issues raised in the play into positions of concrete relevance, as Hofmannsthal himself was to write in June 1918 to Hermann Bahr.[6] Although

Der Turm, particularly through its style of language, can be said to create an atmosphere reminiscent of the period of the Thirty Years' War,[7] the testimony of Hofmannsthal's closest friend, C.J. Burkhardt, reveals the poet's preoccupation during the war years with historical aspects of the German-Austrian cultural tradition, and mentions that during the early post-war period certain historical forces appeared to Hofmannsthal to have become projected into actual contemporary reality.[8] The plot and characters of Der Turm may thus be said to achieve modern historical perspective in spite of the play's apparent seventeenth century quality.

At the outset of the drama a moribund Polish monarchy, riddled with inflation, incessant border conflicts and internal disorder and violence, is confronted by upsurging materialistic, totalitarian and nihilistic forces. Basilius, an absolute ruler whose egoistic interests leave little room for the proper concerns of a monarch, is unable to discern the true reasons for the chaos within his realm, and, seeking advice and justification for his actions, he is instead informed as to what these are by his former court advisor, the Grossalmosenier. The immediate cause of the kingdom's woes is the hopeless and ill-considered frontier war waged by the king, which is merely a physical extension of his vanity and self-interest.[9] Basilius, blind to this, interprets his misfortune as the unfolding of a prophecy, according to which his own son would bring him grave misfortune.[10] For this reason the former, Prince Sigismund, is kept imprisoned in a distant tower, but is released in an attempt to annul the apparent spell cast over the kingdom. While Basilius may be said to represent absolutist, unscrupulous moral corruption, Sigismund incorporates a nobility of spirit which casts him as a future redeemer of the social injustices of his father's reign. His design for a better world is based upon the principles of self-sacrifice and mutual help, and, bearing within him the seeds of renovation, not material possession, he wishes to sweep away the depravity of the present and replace it with a society built upon love, tolerance and respect. These intentions are thwarted, however, with the emergence, particularly in the second version of the play, of the materialist usurper Olivier. He, a former corporal in the service of Basilius, has taken advantage of an intrigue with Julian, a vassal of the king and Sigismund's gaoler, to establish at the end of the drama his own undisputed, tyrannical rule. Julian, who had hoped to become the source of real political power with Sigismund in the role of puppet ruler, is thus outwitted by the harsh materialist who, in order to secure his position beyond all doubt, has Sigismund murdered in the closing stages of the action.

Amidst this plot of corruption, intrigue, usurpation and murder the important figure of the physician functions in a positive sense.[11] Besides Sigismund he is the most humane character in the play and first appears midway through its opening scene when called upon to examine the as yet still imprisoned prince. In his treatment of Sigismund his manner is firm yet sympathetic, and the latter, instinctively sensing the warmth and goodness which radiates from him, submits trustingly to his analysis. To the physician Sigismund immediately signifies something far more than a regular medical patient, for he is at once aware of the prisoner's great spiritual depth and exalted character, and seems to sense a messianic and representative quality in him, as his following reproachful words indicate: "Ich habe nur einerlei Rede: hier ist das höchste Geblüt in der erbärmlichsten Erniedrigung gehalten...Wo die ganze Welt auf ihm liegt. Es ist alles zusammenhängend...Der ungeheure Frevel ist an der ganzen Menschheit begangen worden...Hier ist Adam, des obersten Königs erstgeborener Sohn, geschändet."[12] The identification of Sigismund's ordeal with the suffering of mankind in general adds poignancy to the physician's subsequent warning to the governor of the tower, Julian, that the latter's strength will not be sufficient to bear the weight of the responsibility entrusted to him, and that an ordeal of fire and steel will be the consequence of the prince's degradation.[13] Such apocalyptic forecasts should not be regarded as unfounded or fanciful outbursts, for the physician is a progressive, reputable figure who rejects obsolete medical theories, but who at the same time is quite aware of his own limitations.[14] Moreover, he is also cognizant, like the Grossalmosenier, Olivier and a section of the kingdom's Jewish population including the baptized Jew Simon, of the extent of the danger threatening Basilius' domain, for which the king, as mentioned above, is ultimately but unwittingly responsible.[15] While the threat of social disintegration may appear remote to the physician when the world is viewed from a narrow point of observation, disaster is nonetheless imminent and only kept at bay by a thin dividing barrier. The doctor's words in which this thought is expressed develop into a sinister reality at the close of the second version of the tragedy:

> Die ganze Welt ist gerade genug, unser Gemüt auszufüllen, wenn wir sie aus sicherem Haus durchs kleine Guckfenster ansehen! Aber wehe, wenn die Scheidewand zusammenfällt![16]

In Sigismund, however, the physician detects the possibility of social salvation. For him the prince is a destined ruler who after a period of destruction and renovation, will emerge as the leader of a better world: "Und wenn seine Stunde kommt, wird er hervorgehen und unser Herr sein...Gewaltig ist die Zeit, die sich erneuern will durch einen Auserwählten. Ketten wird sie brechen wie Stroh, Türme wegblasen wie Staub."[17]

Thus far the function of the physician in the drama is that of an astute observer. His perceptive and logically ordered mind enables him to gauge and measure the surrounding social activity with great accuracy, and his discerning eye may alone recognize the deep spiritual quality necessary to the individual he thinks will rule in the future. Unlike other shrewd evaluators of the kingdom's predicament, such as Simon or Olivier, who are well aware of the disastrous material consequences of Basilius' policies, he sees, however, beyond the political and economic breakdowns to a much deeper affliction, of which the former are but the external manifestations. The essential reason for the chaos and discord in the collapsing Polish monarchy lies in the prolematic relationship of spirit and political power which is present in some of the characters, but which, as will be seen, is illustrated in its most striking form in the polar dispositions of Sigismund and Olivier.

In the earlier version of the tragedy the problem of spirit and political power, which as the Hofmannsthal critic Pickerodt states in his book Hofmannsthals Dramen: Kritik ihres historischen Gehalts, forms the philosophical basis of Der Turm,[18] emerges initially in the figure of Basilius, who is so engrossed in the extension of his own will and desires that he is unable to accommodate, or even imagine, the spiritual qualities of compassion, tolerance and moral rectitude necessary to a just ruler. For the physician the type of imbalance between the spiritual and the physical which is evident in the king's overwhelming inclination for material dominance and possession, is the subject of an unrelenting interest: "Wie Leib und Seele eins des anderen immer wieder übermachtig wird, das ist mein unnachlässiges Studium."[19] These words, which are addressed to Julian, foreshadow the physician's analysis of the latter, who, despite his attempts to portray himself as a just and humane individual, is exposed by the medical man as an egoistic[20] intriguer motivated solely by the lust for personal power. This disclosure in turn precedes a description of Julian in which the unhappy situation of the unharmonious individual is revealed, and which again emphasizes the superior insight of the doctor:

> Eure Nächte sind wütendes Begehren, ohnmächtiges Trachten. Eure Tage sind Langeweile, Selbstverzehrung, Zweifel am Höchsten - die Flügel der Seele eingeschnürt in Ketten, und Fremde halten die Ketten und sind gewaltig in Euch und über Euch.[21]

In the 1927 play the polarity of spirit and political power, which in the case of Julian is summed up by the physician as a satanic division,[22] becomes the overriding theme as the social implications of the drama are greatly expanded and the role of the medical man is significantly changed. Whereas in the earlier version Sigismund triumphs over Olivier, even though he is himself poisoned by the latter's gypsy mistress, in the later version the situation is reversed and Olivier is left as the dominant figure. Although in the 1927 drama Basilius is at the outset of the fourth act still the ruler of his kingdom, his reign is practically at an end, and he is soon deposed and forced by his nobles to abdicate in favour of Sigismund. During the same act Julian tries to realize his ambitious plans, but his manoeuvres are unsuccessful and he is rejected by the prince who subsequently appears to have gained full ruling authority. The dramatic entry of Olivier midway through the final act reveals the untenable nature of Sigismund's political position, however, and sets the scene for a conclusive confrontation of the spiritual and the material in which the physician plays an important role.

In Ad me Ipsum Hofmannsthal refers to Olivier as an insurgent and a threatening force of materialism, and to the aim of his play as representing "das eigentlich Erbarmungslose unserer Wirklichkeit, in welche die Seele...hineingerät."[23] The concept of an excessive materialism as the nemesis of spiritual life was constantly in the mind of the writer during the post-war years, as is clear from his prose writing of the period, and is manifested quite clearly in the brutal figure of the proletarian usurper.[24] Olivier, the ultimate manifestation of materialism created by the social development of the nineteenth century and the First World War,[25] constitutes a direct and dangerous threat to the spiritual values of Sigismund, which the latter, believing himself transcendentally superior to his enemy, makes no attempt to resist.[26] In a real sense, however, Sigismund is in extreme jeopardy from his foe, and it is left to the physician to defend the cause for which he stands. Yet to Olivier the qualities to which the physician professes allegiance are mere Jesuit machinations and cheap tricks and the world in which they would exist the stall of a circus buffoon.[27] The doctor's pleas to have Olivier recognize the majesty of

Sigismund are similarly dismissed as the jargon of clerics and comedians and his final argument that the world is not governed by brute force, but by the spirit within it, which clearly reveals his own standpoint, his appreciation of the qualities incorporated in Sigismund, and the nature of the materialist before him, can, ironically, only reinforce Olivier's decision to destroy the young prince.[28] Appearing here as the representative and defender of religious, philosophical and cultural values, the physician is thus reduced to an all too impotent figure, powerless against the sober, pragmatic reality of his enemy, for whom his arguments are not even remotely relevant. This last fact underlines the impression created in the latter stages of the play that the physician, unlike during his clearer analysis of conditions and characters when Basilius was still king, is unable to grasp the true nature of the circumstances in which he now acts. He regards Sigismund as the authority wielding power right up to the moment of Olivier's entrance, and his initial comments to the latter that he is the physician of the king, are in view of Olivier's position as the omnipotent usurper, out of touch with reality.[29] This type of unawareness had in fact given rise to criticism in the very first act of the play, at a time when the physician's perceptive capacity was in other respects clearly superior. Julian's rebuke to him that he prefers to speak with his imagination without insight into the real circumstances, and that he is acquainted with the world as a philosopher, not as a man of action,[30] foreshadows the confrontation in the closing stages of the action when the physician's insight fails him and he is unable to recognize the true state of reality until Olivier himself describes it.[31]

The function of the medical man and his inefficacy before the despot Olivier in the second version of Der Turm assumes a much deeper significance when the drama is regarded in its contemporary historical context. The portrayal of material problems and catastrophes, inflation and the resultant breakdown of order, lack of confidence in the authorities, proletarian violence and revolution, and individual insecurity amidst the collapse of long-established systems, can, particularly when considered together with Hofmannsthal's own comments to Hermann Bahr and C.J. Burkhardt, be considered as a reflection of the political and economic disintegration accompanying the destruction of the Hapsburg Empire in 1918. The play also mirrors a cultural order, spiritual, ethical and rational in character, which Hofmannsthal felt threatened by the upsurging social forces given impetus by the political and economic collapse, and which may be said to be the subject of the following lament by the writer:

> Die Beschädigung aller Staaten und aller Einzelnen durch den Krieg war so gross, die materiellen Folgen davon sind so schwer und verwickelt und bilden eine solche Bemühung und Belastung auch der Phantasie und des Gemütslebens der Einzelnen, dass darüber ein Gefühl nicht recht zum Ausdruck kommt,..welches doch alle geistig Existeierenden erfüllt: dass wir uns in einer der schwersten geistigen Krisen befinden, welche Europa

> vielleicht seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, wo nicht seit dem dreizehnten, erschüttert haben, und die den Gedanken nahelegt, ob "Europa", das Wort als geistiger Begriff genommen, zu existieren aufgehört habe.[32]

As the critic William H. Rey suggests, Hofmannsthal experienced the war and the social developments following it as a fateful period of cultural decline,[33] and in his brutal figure of Olivier much of the destructive chaos, lack of moral steadfastness and pragmatic materialism which beset the young Weimar Republic may be detected. In this sense the negative historical forces which confront the physician in the play are clearly overwhelming, and the situation for the individual incomprehensibly disjointed.[34] This would explain the physician's misconception in the final act, as well as the remarks of Julian much earlier, for it is actually in the opening stages of the drama that the confusions of Basilius' realm are already giving way to the eventual uprising of the materialism and nihilism with which the play closes. As the representative of the cultural, ethical values which Hofmannsthal regarded as greatly endangered, the physician also reflects, as Roeder observes, the situation of many unfortunates who were unable to cope with harsh reality of an all-too temporary twentieth century world.[35] His voice, that of scientific rationality, ethical duty and philosophical wisdom, remains unheard by the primitive pragmatic materialism of the new order, and his subsequent submission to the changed status quo reveals only too clearly the fate of the cultured man in the post-war era, as Hofmannsthal saw it.

By choosing the physician as the spokesman for spiritual values and the opponent of materialism in the play Hofmannsthal is thus continuing the trend of the writers whose works were discussed in the previous chapter. Here the materialism opposed by the medical man was largely inherent in the technological values which dominated the society of the times, but the warnings of characters such as Frischwachs or von Kammacher were transformed into a frightening reality in Ponten's tale, Die Bockreiter. Whereas in these earlier works, however, the physician was always able to foresee and estimate, to some degree at least, the dangers within a materialistic world by virtue of his position outside of it, in Der Turm the external situation of the doctor is of no avail and he is overwhelmed by the brutal forces he fails to detect. In this latter case the roles of Ponten's physician Kirchhoff and Hofmannsthal's character are similar, and in both instances their ultimate lack of insight serves to emphasize the extent and intensity of the terrifying and complex forces which oppose them. Their situation is perhaps best summed up in the desperation of the latter's final cry, which is the helpless plea of a scientific, philosophical and cultural morality forced to acknowledge the waning of its existence.[36]

The function of the physician in Der Turm is thus characterized by a striking change. From the perceptive observer of the earlier action of the play he becomes in its later stages the spokesman for an endangered value system whose words of rationality and wisdom fail to make even the slightest impression upon the powers which confront him, and whose awareness of his own imperilled situation is notably limited. His subsequent passivity does not necessarily undermine his importance in the play, however, for in the representative sense that Roeder describes, he also reflects a social situation, the significance of which is attested by its commonplace quality in the turmoils and stresses of the war and post-war period.

Apart from the political strife, the financial chaos and the general relaxing of social discipline, a serious factor which had a telling effect upon the German population in the early aftermath of the war was the acute shorage of foodstuffs and industrial supplies. During the course of the fighting the Allied naval blockade of the German ports had been a significant factor in the wearing-down of the German economy, and it was maintained after the armistice in an even more stringent fashion as the hitherto unblockaded Baltic outlets were closed. While the Allied powers conditionally undertook to supply Germany with food materials during the armistice period, arrangements for deliveries only began to be discussed in January, 1919, and German trepidation at the intended use of German vessels and funds for this purpose held up the first shipment of the badly needed supplies until the end of March. In German eyes the failure of the victors to ensure an adequate food supply for a country that had voluntarily surrendered, was an act of extreme cruelty, particularly as it was claimed that many Germans had starved to death or otherwise suffered from the effects of the severe post-war malnutrition. The unfortunate spectacle of a post-war starving population is the theme of the plays *Hungerblockade 1919* (1925) and *Der Armendoktor* (1927) by the Austrian playwright, Karl Schönherr, whose treatment of the topic is bold and precise and echoes the naturalistic style of Hauptmann in the portrayal of human suffering.[37] Born in the Tyrol in 1867, Schönherr grew up to study medicine and German literature before becoming a practising physician in Vienna in 1896. From 1905 onwards he devoted himself to free writing in which a strong mixture of Naturalism, indigenous theme and concern for the comman man is extant, and in which the physician, again as in the works of Hauptmann, is a frequent character choice. He died in Vienna in 1943.

In *Hungerblockade 1919* and *Der Armendoktor* the alarming predicament of a starving population suffering from the coldness and hostility of the victorious powers of 1918 creates a situation in which material need is so acute that spiritual beneficence is banished as worthless and of no account, in which the fundamental instinct of survival is the only issue of importance, and in which the physician is abused and rejected by an impoverished, undernourished, but self-seeking and hypocritical community. Illuminating some of the social consequences of the defeat of 1918, the plays take a deep look at the survival instincts of the individual and the reversal of communal priorities as well as again revealing the inadequacy of the scientific rationalist when confronted with fundamental, primitive natural forces. In both works the plot is generally similar and portrays the physician engaged in an agonizing conflict of loyalties. In a position to obtain only a meagre amount of foodstuffs, which, however, represent a considerable source of nourishment to the famished community he serves, he is torn between the wants of his patients and the hungry cries of his own family. In the ensuing struggle he is revealed as an all-too human personality and, in Der Armendoktor, is overwhelmed by the stresses to which he is subjected and left as a spiritually broken man.

In Hungerblockade 1919 the physician Glatz is unable to stem the already widespread and continually encroaching sickness caused by the severe malnutrition of the times. He sacrifices practically all of his time in attempting to help his patients, in which he is fractionally successful due to an unstable connection with a Dutch milk supplier. His considerable efforts are unappreciated, however, both by an ungrateful and selfish community, and by his wife and daughter, who are unable to comprehend, as Glatz himself does, that he, as a physician, has a moral obligation to help all, and not merely his immediate family. His endeavour to conserve his meagre supplies in the most reasonable way - for the poorest, most suffering children[38] - leads to a conflict with his wife who expects preferential treatment for her daughter, Roserl.

Glatz, however, sees beyond family want: "das Elend geht noch tiefer, die Not hat heut keinen Boden mehr."[39] Whereas other physicians remain at home and care primarily for their own needs,[40] Glatz correctly regards the extensive malnutrition as a general, universal problem, and not as a personal family dilemma. His value as a physician is revealed in his recognition, both of this, and of the need for corresponding action: "Ich kann nicht einen Zaun aufrichten um unser Nest und sagen: Was ausserhalb ist, das geht mich nichts an... die Zäune müssen nieder...Man muss sich das Nest ein bissel weiter machen. Es müssen mehr drin Platz haben; nicht nur eins: Alle!"[41] It is in his dedication to the well-being of all, and in his belief that in helping one sick child he is symbolically aiding all those in the community, that Glatz derives his spiritual fortitude. It is this idea, for example, which instills in him the courage with which to overcome the shock of his own daughter's death and to continue his work in the face of great misery and despair, and which also provides him with a justification for his action: "In jedem Kind findest du ein liebes Stückel von Roserl. Und was du einem von ihnen tust, das hast du dem Unsern getan!"[42] Hard times will continue to be experienced, as Glatz well knows, but he is confident too that in spite of all adversity his starving compatriots will be able to maintain some degree of human dignity. In expressing this feeling Glatz also becomes the spokesman for an embittered and resentful population which felt betrayed by the indifference and contempt of the Powers to which it had surrendered. His awareness that the German people are no longer wanted in the world and his subsequent refusal to accept the degradation being heaped upon them,[43] are very much symptomatic of what went through the minds of Germans during and after the armistice period. Despite the determination to preserve human dignity inherent in Glatz' proclamation, Hungerblockade 1919 remains, however, a fundamentally negative drama. Its central message, the plea of the physician for an appreciation of universal suffering as the beginning of social improvement, which in Der Armendoktor is more fully developed, remains unheard.

In the 1927 play the physician, being named by his professional title alone, suffers a loss of individual personal identity while his status as a representative of a scientific medical order is emphasized. Although he adheres to the same views as Glatz with regard to the recognition of malnutrition and its accompanying misery as a social, and not as a private problem, he also stresses, much more than his predecessor, the need for social solidarity and the necessity of mutual aid, as a means of overcoming the wretchedness and privation: "...das Wunder muss in uns selber geschehen: fest zusammenhalten müssen wir alle. Dann bringt uns nichts zu Boden...Am stärksten sind wir. Wenn wir alle fest zusammen stehn. - Nur keiner dem andern seine Hand auslassen - so tappen wir uns im Finstern weiter, bis wieder ein heller Schein kommt."[44] The miracle, to which the physician above refers, would be a conversion within the individual from a selfish and socially destructive egoism to a more sympathetic and generous communal feeling. Such a transformation unfortunately remains virtually non-existent throughout the play, as the physician's advice is totally ignored by his patients, and he possesses neither the strength of character to impress it upon them, nor, in fact, to realize his own ideals in a personal sense. Embroiled in a conflict of loyalties towards both family and community, his aloof position crumbles, and, by subsequently placing the interests of his own kinfolk, who are already more fortunate than most, above those of his other patients, he betrays the very principles which had preserved him from the ugliness of his environment.[45] The play ends with the physician a spiritually broken and disillusioned figure.

As in the case of the physician of Der Turm, the medical man of Hungerblockade 1919 and particularly the doctor of Schönherr's later play are overcome by an environment which they had hoped to change. The world in which they function is totally devoid of spiritual humanitarian values, as these have long since been destroyed by a chronic material need which has unleashed primitive and negative instincts in its inhabitants and reduced them to mere participants in a bitter struggle for survival. In such a locale even the practice of medicine is relegated to the ranks of the worthless and impractical professions, as is made clear in Hungerblockade 1919 when the jobbing tailor is prepared to allow his own son to die of an infected arm in order to have one less mouth to feed. The tailor's justification that he is merely easing his own predicament by casting out unproductive elements,[46] reveals the extent of the difficulties facing the physician, for his primary duty is thereby denied due to the misguided priorities of a community which sees in him merely the provider of the material goods to keep hunger at bay. The essential role of the medical man in Schönherr's two plays is that of a social leader whose true value is reflected by his call for communal cooperation, and by his recognition that only in dealing with communal, as opposed to individual hardships will a possible means of overcoming the misery and privation enveloping his patients be found. Yet because he only remains valuable to the latter in so far as he is able to fulfil their material requirements, he fails to lead them to this same recognition and, worse, in attempting to combat the primitive and socially disruptive instincts of his neighbours, he himself is affected by the adverse conditions and embarks upon the very course he had tried to nullify.

The concept of the physician as a social leader, which in Schönherr's two works does not gain full fruition because of the mismatch of individual initiative and communal primitive natural instincts, is fully realized, however, in Paul Ilg's meritorious, yet little-known three-act drama _Der Führer_ (1919).[47] Here, for the first time in this investigation, the physician appears as something more than the passive, although deeply perceptive social critic, or the tragically impotent representative of rational and humanitarian values, for he is able to impress successfully his fellow characters with the wisdom of his insight and create for society at large a definite pattern for encouragement in the harmonizing of social discord. Ilg, a Swiss writer, was born in 1875 and later moved to Berlin where he worked as the editor of Die Woche. He returned to Switzerland in 1903 to devote himself to writing, and died there in 1957. Essentially a writer of prose works which are generally characterized by social criticism and realism, his first serious attempt at drama, Der Führer, earned considerable praise and acclaim. The play was well received in the press after its initial performance, being regarded as an original, bold, and technically brilliant approach to contemporary reality which evoked an atmosphere very much in keeping with the spiritual attitude of the times.[48] Much of the play's popularity is also undoubtedly due to its conciliatory tone, which is particularly strong in its final act where an audience with four years of desperate unrelenting struggle fresh in its memory may witness a heeded call for tolerance and understanding. A refreshing work with strong convincing characters, Der Führer with its settlement of social conflict may well be said to reflect the desires of many in the insecure, strife-torn and fragile war and post-war periods. It also mirrors the transition from a conservative capitalistic value system to a democratic socialism, which was already fermenting before 1914 and which gained momentum after 1918 when the Social Democrats became the liquidators of the old monarchy.[49]

The action of the drama is centred upon the wealthy conservative Buhler family, the head of which, the Oberst, is a powerful industrialist whose factories employ over four thousand workers and have built over five thousand locomotives.[50] Although his workers are in a rebellious mood and the Oberst is well aware of this, he is unwilling to appreciate their demands and is determined to use force, if necessary to quell any protests.[51] The same stringent attitude is exhibited in his treatment of his son Alfred, who, unlike his father, is unwilling to benefit from unearned rewards, refuses to adhere to conservative principles such as enlisting in the military, and who has strong ties with the growing body of socialists whose ideas are threatening the arch-capitalism represented by the rich factory-owner. A further source of alienation between father and son lies in Alfred's love for Helene, an actress suffering psychologically from a subconscious repression of certain extremely painful childhood memories. To the Oberst, who does not care to consider this, Helene is nothing more than an hysterical "Komödiantin" and a highly unsuitable choice for his son.[52] The fourth of the significant characters in the play is the neurologist Dr. Vollenweider who administers treatment to Helene, and who in the important central contexts of the drama acts as a buffer between father and son, and finally manages to achieve the general reconciliation with which the action closes.

Vollenweider describes his function as that of preparing souls for life's struggle,[53] and in pursuing this aim, he is the most important and influential figure in the drama. His treatment of Helene's psychological illness is for him merely a straightforward task, for he well knows that she is in fact her own worst enemy, and needs only to confront the unpleasant experience within her memory, neither suppressing it, nor allowing it to dominate her life, in order to be cured. In his concurrent dealings with the capitalistic Oberst and his son Alfred, he reveals great insight into the nature of the problem which exists between them, and raises issues which far transcend the difficulties of a father-son conflict. Yet, like the physician of Der Turm, he does not admit to infallible, omniscient powers, and thus acknowledges certain limits beyond which he cannot function in a medical sense. His description of himself as a kind of miner whose task it is to bring forth hidden material to the light of day, is subsequently qualified by the realization that without the cooperation of his patients he is ultimately powerless: "...stellen Sie sich einmal vor, wir seien so eine Art Bergwerker, wir sollen verborgene Dinge zu Tage fördern. Aber ohne Förderkorb, ohne zuverlässiges tragfestes Material ist das eben unmöglich."[54] This honesty and awareness of his limitations as a physician adds much to the credibility and value of Vollenweider's remarks later in the play.

The nature of the advice that Vollenweider is able to provide is revealed in the opening act when Alfred makes his first declaration of allegiance to new values and rejects the older social philosophies with which he had been brought up. In replying to this, the physician advocates caution: "Nicht im Sprung, nur schwimmend ist das andere Ufer zu erreichen."[55] The rejection of extreme measures inherent in this suggestion is evident again in the later discussions with the Oberst, when the true depth of Vollenweider's worth becomes predominantly clear, and when he attempts to reconcile the incompatibility of two value systems by stressing the need for appreciation of the right of self-determination and understanding of individual human interests, as well as illuminating the real situation of the labour troubles in the Oberst's factories. For the latter the bearers of the new socialist ideas to which his son adheres, and which are giving rise to the dissensions among his workers, are despicable quill-drivers and insurgents,[56] and, afflicted by a stubborn short-sightedness and a misguided belief in the ultimate success of pure force, he is neither fully capable of appreciating why they should exist, nor fully aware of how close his own world is to disintegration. While, however, the Oberst refuses to take the socialists seriously, the physician knows better: "Nicht bloss eine Welle Aufruhr, wie sie da und dort gegen Kapitalistendämme schlägt: eine Sturmflut - merkt man - wird über uns kommen."[57] While the rich capitalist can only see raised threatening fists and hear the cries for bread[58] - merely the external and superficial elements of a social revolution, Vollenweider fully realizes the fundamental inner driving force of the socialists' movement,[59] and he emphasizes the duty of the stronger not to abuse humanity, but to show generosity towards it: "Eben, weil Sie der Stärkere sind, müssen Sie Milde vor Macht ergehen lassen."[60] When Vollenweider, in continuing, describes the world as disjointed,[61] he is pointing to the disparity between the older, established values and the emerging dynamic forces which threaten them - a disparity which forms the basis of a social sickness of which the struggle between the Oberst and his son is but a single manifestation. With regard to the domestic conflict, Vollenweider informs the Oberst of the new sense of purpose which fills Alfred, and which is founded upon the principles of self-sacrifice and communal spirit.[62] The application of force to attempt to alter such a philosophy is both wrong and futile, and the doctor, stressing this, takes the side of mutual respect and individual self-determination: "Gewalt ist ein schlechtes Bekehrungsmittel. Achten Sie vor allem die persönliche Freiheit."[63] Individual ideas are regarded by Vollenweider as precious, but for the Oberst they must be subject to, and not transgress the existing order, if chaos and anarchy are to be avoided. So blind is the Oberst, however, to the reality surrounding him, that he is not aware that the imminence of such conditions is encouraged by his own actions and values, and his use of the term anarchy is ironic, in that Vollenweider does not reject it, but applies it to outline the crisis with which Alfred, by his refusal to adhere to outdated social laws, is confronted:

> Anarchie...jawohl, auch so können wir die Krankheit taufen. Es ist der Zerfall seines bisherigen sittlichen Weltbildes, die Gehorsamsverweigerung gegen die ihm aufgenötigten Lebensgesetze.[64]

In an attempt to prevent the spiritual confusion and emotional collapse which Alfred is almost certain to suffer should the conflict with his father remain unresolved, Vollenweider expresses ideas to the Oberst which form the central message of the drama:

> Das Einzige - ich rat Ihnen gut - lassen Sie ihn fliegen, wohin er will;.. Wenn Sie es über sich bringen können, Ihrem Sohn zu sagen: "Tu, was Dir recht dünkt, - Du bist Dein eigener Herr", so wird der göttliche Funke auf ihn überspringen, ein neuer Bund geschlossen sein. Schütteln Sie diese Hoffnung nicht ab. Alles, was Ihnen jetzt verloren ist: Liebe, Freundschaft, Harmonie des Daseins - liegt darin verborgen, gebundene Kräfte, die nur des Erweckers harren.[65]

A disjointed world cannot be held together with force whether from the throats of men or the barrels of guns,[66] but with mutual understanding and respect for individual liberty. Force is thus condemned as a destructive social element, and its application criticized as ineffective in the solving of social problems.

In the final act of the play the difficulties between father and son are resolved and the Oberst, while not totally surrendering his position, appears to have accommodated much of the important advice offered him by Vollenweider. Alfred is thus freed from a situation which threatens to destroy him, and the doctor sees his mission for the future in continuing the reconciliation of rival opposing values. When this is the goal of conflict and struggle, the end, in Vollenweider's eyes, fully justifies the means: "Wer sein Leben furchtlos zwischen die feindlichen Klingen wirft und das zertretene Recht im Getümmel sucht, ist sicher ein grosser Streiter vor dem Herrn."[67]

The juxtaposition of force and tolerance which is so striking in Der Führer connotes, however, far wider dimensions than a domestic conflict of father and son. The Oberst with his regimented arch-capitalism represents a ruling status quo unable to understand any other value system besides its own, and may well appear in fact to have an actual historical counterpart in the aristocratic industrialist Baron Karl von Stumm-Halberg, whose determination in the closing years of the nineteenth century to impose his will even upon the private lives of his workers impressed Wilhelm II as a successful arrangement for the management of labour relations, and subsequently gave rise to what became known in Germany as the "era Stumm", in which government policies in social questions followed the lead of the paternal Baron.[68] Alfred, however, in his rejection of his father's way of life, personifies a growing brand of democratic socialism opposed to the methods of stringent conservativism, and the conflict between the two can be regarded as a reflection of the social tensions which were developing within the industrialized structure of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a drama with such definable political tones Vollenweider's role is, however, not primarily that of a political raisonneur. He is situated strategically, but not necessarily ideologically, between the hostile parties, and his comments to both the Oberst and Alfred in a play written in 1918 may be better taken as the rejection of the obstinacy and blind egoism within man which contributed fundamentally to the causes of the First World War, as well as a condemnation of the four years of violence, brutality and imposition of will upon others which the conflict amounted to, than as the affirmation or negation of any one particular political value system. The significance of Vollenweider's final decree that the fear and wretchedness in the soul of man should be swept away,[69] is universal in the harsh chaotic period in which the play became known, and the plea itself is indicative once more of the need for an extensive overall, and not merely an endemic or individual spirit of pacifism and goodwill.

Der Führer, with its extremely important figure of Dr. Vollenweider, subsequently emerges as a portrayal of an uncertain spiritual as well as political climate, and as an indictment of the capitalistic, material values which disrupt not only family and larger social mechanisms, but also, and much more drastically, the relations between nations and races. The play's title most notably refers to the doctor himself, and herein lies his true function in the work. Vollenweider, although he seemingly rejects the description by maintaining that the essence of leadership and guidance lies within the individual himself, leads Helene to this latter truth which implies no more than a proper awareness of one's inner self from which a sense of purpose and direction may be achieved. He also brings the conservative Oberst to the grudging realization that society itself is changing and will tend to become increasingly socialist, and that the methods of pure force in an emerging democratic environment are obsolete. Alfred too is led onto firmer ground by the moderation of the doctor, who sees in him an important future conciliator amidst the tensions of the developing social transition. A superior figure in the evaluation of human and social predicaments, Vollenweider thus provides valuable leadership in a confusing changing world by coaxing the individual spirit to examine itself, in order to destroy the deceptions afflicting it and thereby assess its true position. In this manner the physician, for the first time in this investigation, may function as something more than as astute eye-witness, a misguided or powerless idealist, or an all-too human provider, for he is not only able to intervene in the reality he perceives, but may also accomplish much of what he decrees. Consequently, the physician of Ilg's drama Der Führer becomes a pattern for social cohesion and harmony achieved by respect and sympathetic understanding, appearing in the stunned and shocked days of the immediate post-war period.

In the final work to be discussed in this chapter, Hans Carossa's *Der Arzt Gion* (1931), the theme of positive[70] leadership during these same fragile times is continued. Carossa, who was born in 1878 in Bavaria, was himself a field doctor during the First World War, and wrote several works in which the physician appears as a central character. Most of these are directly autobiographical writings, although the novel *Die Schicksale Doktor Bürgers* (1913) departs from this style, as does the later story of Dr. Gion. Throughout his works Carossa tends to remain politically and socially non-committal, limiting himself to a portrayal of fundamental circumstances of daily life in which his own ideas are projected. In 1932 he gave up his active role in medicine, and retired to Passau, in which region he died in 1956.

As one of Carossa's most important works, *Der Arzt Gion* not only has a physician as its major character, but it also, unlike much of his other writing, reveals the effect on the other characters of the medical man's interaction with them. Gion is also significant as an eye-witness to the spiritual condition of Germany in the aftermath of the war, and serves as an important mouthpiece for much of Carossa's philosophy of existence. The plot of the novel is straightforward and concerns Gion's dealings with his patients, in particular the artist Cynthia, whom he later marries partly in order to cure her psychic illness, and the orphan Toni, whom he adopts - actions which already reveal the type of total commitment which Gion as a physician is prepared to make to those in need. Like Der Führer, Der Arzt Gion is a positive work in spite of the sickness and social difficulties it portrays, for it above all reveals the physician as a steadfast, inspirational element in an insecure and demoralised post-war world.

At an early stage in the novel Gion, like Vollenweider and the physician of Der Turm, expresses the limitations of his powers, in this case to the peasant maid Emerenz:

> Halte dich getröst im Ring meiner Kräfte!
> Er ist kein Zauberring, doch kann er dich
> ein wenig abgrenzen gegen die Bereiche
> der Zufälligkeiten, so dass dir nicht
> leicht etwas geschieht als das Notwendige...[71]

These words faithfully reflect the capabilities of the modern scientific physician. As a scientist he works with rules and laws, which do not allow for chance or contingency, with the result that he may apply some rationalistic method to counter situations which may appear incomprehensible to the layman. Even the physician, however, must sometines ultimately bow to the superior laws of nature, "das Notwendige."

Gion's functions as an eye-witness of the contemporary German situation and as the vehicle for the expression of Carossa's philosophy of life become apparent quite early on in the work. In a bitter assessment of Germany's spiritual condition he underlines the new fears of the population:

> Der Krieg ist vorüber, die Umwälzung auch;

> aber das Volk zittert noch davon, besonders die Frauen. Sie haben die Vorwände durchschaut, unter welchen die Menschen einander das Furchtbarste antun; sie glauben nicht mehr an den heldischen Sinn der Männerstreite und erwarten auch von der Zukunft nur Entseelung und Zertrümmerung. O Schwester, Frost liegt auf der weiblichen Seele; sie schaudert vor neuer Befruchtung![72]

This gloomy comment is not, however, the novel's only word on the consequences of the war. Carossa is also aware of a subsequent breakdown of order and discipline, and a general spiritual deterioration within the individual. Gion, in a meditative mood, seemingly supplies a solution to these problems, by suggesting that the discipline demanded of a soldier in battle is a means of preserving an intact and harmonious existence in civilian life. Moreover, only a soldier confronted by extreme danger may experience the true fullness of life which occurs through the union of spirit and deed:

> ...und wieder einmal erhebt sich die schon oft gestellte Frage, wie wohl das unruhige, in hundert kleine verantwortlichkeiten zerfallende Dasein eines dienenden Menschen von heute mit den hohen Forderungen der Seele in Einklang zu bringen wäre. Wer ist so gross, dass er ein irdisches Geschäft betreiben und zugleich mit Geistesaugen darauf niederschauen kann? Im Krieg, im todnahen Augenblick, haben es manche vermocht, aber dann wieder verlernt, und das ist schade;..[73]

Here Gion, in his thoughts, is critical of the relaxed conditions which follow war, and at the same time aware of some kind of therapeutic value in conflict, which is not evident in times of peace, and which suggests a vague similarity to the theme of Ponten's Die Bockreiter where action, although frivolous and prankish, is affirmed as a socially positive process. In addition, the criticism of the overproductive, easygoing pre-war environment in Ponten's work is apparently extended in a further observation of Gion to post-war society: "Viele sind gestorben,..und viele werden sterben. Die aber überdauern, die, meine ich, müssten anders sein als die Kinder einer überernährten, befriedigten Zeit."[74] The lack of urgency and discipline in the post-war individual which Gion detects is akin to the problem already formulated by Hofmannsthal in 1920: "Heute liegt eine neue Not auf den Individuen: das Allzuviel an Freiheit."[75] The concept of excess, applied here to individual freedom, and which in Die Bockreiter is founded in the economic situation, and in Der Arzt Gion in the relaxed social conditions, is also applied in the latter work to personal illness. Cynthia's sickness, Gion convinces himself, is to be understood as a special form of health, as an abundance of vitality which is more dangerous for her than any clinically detectable ailment.[76] Accordingly, the superfluity of a normally positive factor leads in this case to its own disruption.

Gion's function as an eye-witness to the situation of post-war Germany is continued in the pessimistic appraisal of the physical and spiritual sickness pervading the country:

> Immer noch war die Zeit voll Ungemach:
> noch jede Woche kam es vor, dass Menschen

> in wenigen Stunden den Fiebern erlagen, die der Krieg in das Land geschleppt hatte. Auch nistete noch überall die grosse Traurigkeit des Niedergangs; vielen war der Glaube an den Wert des Daseins für immer abhanden gekommen, und beinah täglich verliessen Unglückliche das Leben wie eine ungesunde Wohnung.[77]

The lack of purpose and value in existence, the loss of confidence in the future, as well as physical diseases, are all elements of the adversity confronting and challenging Gion. At least as bad, however, is the spiritual condition of many of those who do retain a sense of purpose in life. A succinct but telling statement made by Gion towards the beginning of the novel - "Eine Psyche hat heutzutage ein jeder; Seelen aber sind seltener denn je"[78] - reveals what Carossa regarded as a negative social phenomenon, in that the soul, a resting place of calm and quiet amidst the intensity and pressure of modern technological society, is, by virtue of these same factors, shunned and neglected by the individual. Gion is thus touching upon what for Carossa was a major affliction of the modern world - the inability of man to find protection within himself from the competitive, materialistic environment about him. So aggressive is this in its encroachment upon man that his spiritual place of refuge is forced into ever deeper recesses, constantly besieged by forces often within the same individual. If this spiritual element in man is, however, vigilantly defended, hope for the future is secured. Gion, pensive and meditative, turns these thoughts over in his mind:

> Das geistige Sein eines tätigen, bewussten Mannes in dieser Zeit, was ist es anderes als eine belagerte Festung, die er mit aller Umsicht, Sparsamkeit, Ausfallsbereitschaft zu halten hat gegen einen immer vorhandenen, oft schwer erkennbaren, oft mit den eigenen Blute verbündeten Feind? Je mehr aber solche Festungen stehen, um so besser für das Ganze![79]

For Gion the beleagured spiritual essence of the soul is an integral part of the harmonious equilibrium of health which extends to cosmic proportions - "das gemeinsam-herrliche aller Völker"[80] - and in which even Death plays a positive role.[81] His task as a physician will thus be to establish within his patients a restoration of the spiritual elements necessary to ensure a correct balance in their daily lives, and it is in this that Gion's important and successful function as a positive social leader is revealed. As Pospischil Alter states, Gion's achievements in this respect are largely due to "his transcendence of the purely corporal afflictions of his patients and his dedication to the healing of their souls."[82] By withdrawing the barriers of his own privacy, as is most notably the case with Cynthia and Toni, he is able to place his complete personality at the disposal of his patients, so that his powers of healing are inseparably linked to his ability to establish close relationships with those who need his help, which is the essence of the leadership and guidance he supplies. As a consequence Gion exhibits a closer proximity to his patients than even Vollenweider in _Der Führer_, who is important as both a spokesman and guarantor of social harmony. In the spiritually, as well as in the matter of social provisions, materially fragile post-war world, the inner precariousness of which Gion especially reveals, the latter's steadfastness and warm leadership are vital to the future of the community at large. As a physician "in the broadest sense of the term, extending balm to souls as well as bodies",[83] Gion is seen by one critic as having affinities to the priest. The spiritual comfort and guidance which Carossa's figure provides through his personal approach and total dedication to his fellow man in need, bear this observation out and supply, like Ilg's character, a definite pattern for sustained existence in a difficult period of social confusion.

In their confrontation with the historical forces opposing them the physicians of this second chapter reflect an interesting development. No longer in a position to warn of or forestall the impending factors of social disintegration, as were their counterparts of the opening section, they are initially overwhelmed by a materialism and anarchy which are already at hand. From the inefficacy and impotence of this position, however, they emerge, in the figures of Vollenweider and Gion, as important social builders who both by exhortation and active example do much to restore harmony and accord in a spiritually impoverished environment. Unfortunately, in the ensuing chapter of this study the positive trends developing here are seen to be swiftly checked by the malevolence of the most inhuman regime of modern times, that of National Socialism, as the physician is forced, on the one hand, into an ultra-defensive role, while, on the other hand, he appears as a major protagonist within the framework of the Nazi political system. In this latter case the traditional humanitarian values of the physician's profession are completely negated as his accepted role as the defender of the weaker is modified to accommodate the stringent National Socialist racial ideology.

CHAPTER III

RETREAT AND DIABOLISM: THE PHYSICIAN'S ROLE IN GERMAN LITERATURE DEPICTING ASPECTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The National Socialist period of German history represents one of the most infamous interludes in the development of any nation. It was characterized from the very beginning by nationalistic and racial ideologies which were invariably modified to accommodate any contingency which might arise, and which were maintained by a brutal policy of aggression against anyone who opposed them. National Socialism has also been described as "the most extreme manifestation of the twentieth century revolt against reason", by which its overwhelming attraction for the baser instincts of society rather than for the latter's intellectual and rational capacity is indicated.[1] In its later stages its diabolical perversity, its political and military fantasy and the sheer enormity of its bestial crimes brought ruin to Germany, and to much of the rest of the world. Totalitarian in nature, the National Socialist state disrupted the privacy of the individual and pervaded all aspects of day to day existence. Even longstanding and powerful institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church were not secure from the interference of a regime which sought to substitute for traditional religion neo-pagan cults based on the ancient Teutonic mythology.

Despite component elements such as German nationalism which abounded in other political groups, National Socialism is ultimately unthinkable without its founder and leader, Adolf Hitler. Hitler, a former Austrian corporal who fought bravely as a runner and front-line soldier during the First World War, achieved political power in 1933 after fourteen years of persistent effort in which political propaganda, violence, mass-hysteria and boundless energy were the key factors.[2] Blinded temporarily by a British gas attack on the Western Front in the last months of fighting, he spent the period of the German surrender and the ensuing armistice at a field hospital in Pomerania. After recovering his eyesight he returned to his adopted home of Munich where he was employed as a political instructor by the army, and where in September, 1919 in the course of this work he was sent to investigate a small political group which called itself the German Workers Party. After impressing the leaders of the group with a strong speech attacking Bavarian separatism, Hitler was invited to join the party's committee, which he did after some slight hesitation. Once a member of the small group, however, he set to work eagerly to build up the party, and from humble beginnings and discussions in shabby beer-halls there soon arose mass meetings of over two thousand adherents, which foreshadowed the huge mass rallies and demonstrations of later years.

The ideas which Hitler expressed to his followers had been in his mind since his earlier days in Vienna, and they were mainly a mixture of nationalism and antisemitism which were formulated in his somewhat tedious book Mein Kampf written in 1923. His incredible success at instilling them into the minds of his listeners was due to a complete involvement, often to the point of frenzy, in what he was saying, as well as to several other factors which were also set down in his work. Above all else Hitler always directed his attention to the masses who formed the classes which suffered the most social grievances and which were the most lacking in intellect, with the result that they constituted the easiest group to sway and mould. He then set out to appeal to their emotions, not to their understanding, which he did by means of blatant lies and violent oratory and by a clever theatrical use of symbols, banners and salutes. He constantly subjected his audience to a barrage of continually repeated points, literally hammering his ideas into their minds, and he was careful to reduce everything he said into simplistic notions of right and wrong, whereby all oppositional factors were quickly rolled into one common adversary for the masses to identify and attack. To make absolutely certain that the attention of the listeners remained undivided, the Nazi meetings and rallies were always attended by protection squads of brown-shirted SA men. These swiftly dealt with any hecklers or other opponents of the ideas being expounded, and were also used to great effect to break up rival political gatherings. Once in power Hitler had ample opportunity to increase these coercive and terrorizing policies, and already in the early days of his demagogic rule the National Socialists erected for both their political and racial opponents special internment camps which were ultimately developed into the highly efficient extermination complexes centred in eastern and southern Poland.[3] In this manner practically all resistance to the regime could be effectively dealt with, so that the sole choice remaining to any undesirables in Nazi eyes was flight or emigration from Germany.

A unique reflection of these events to which Germany was subjected during Hitler's rise to, and subsequent consolidation of political power is provided by Ernst Weiss' novel Ich-Der Augenzeuge (1963).[4] Weiss, a friend of Franz Kafka, was born in Brünn, Austria in 1884. He later studied medicine in Vienna and for a time was a pupil under Sigmund Freud. He served as a company doctor during the First World War, but in the years after his Jewish background made him a marked man during the Hitler period, and he emigrated to France in 1938. Although he had a chance to escape the invading German armies two years later, his strength was at an end and he committed suicide in his Paris hotel shortly before the arrival of the conquerors. The manuscript of Ich-Der Augenzeuge had, however, previously been sent to New York as an entry in a literary competition, having been first read in 1939 by Weiss' friend Hermann Kesten.

Ich-Der Augenzeuge is the story of a physician, who, during the closing stages of the First World War had treated the blindness suffered by Hitler during a British gas attack south of Ypres. While the first sections of the novel are concerned with the former's childhood, student period and early professional days as a practising doctor, the latter part of the work deals with the period from Hitler's recovery in 1918 to his eventual assumption and consolidation of power in the thirties. An "Ich-Roman" with the physician as its narrator, Weiss' work describes both the evil and the fascination of the National Socialist movement, and, as in the case of Paul Ilg's play *Der Führer*, the function of the major character is suggested in its title. In spite of this, however, the physician is not only an attentive observer of historical events, but also intervenes directly in the novel's action. Moreover, there arise within the former role problematic moral issues which originatefrom a fundamental weakness within the physician, cloud his vision as an eye-witness later on, and even cast an element of doubt upon his integrity as a medical man.

The physician's role as a witness to the events around him is immediately apparent during his student days, but unlike at a later stage in his career, it is characterized here by honesty and impartial objectivity, examples of which are readily at hand. As financial assistance for his medical studies the physician is sent a monthly allowance from home, but unknown to his parents he gives the greater part of it to his father's former mistress who, now alone, has two small children to support, for whom his father should be responsible. As a reward for this act of charity, however, the physician merely receives the reproaches of his mother, who considers her son's student-life as an ill-spent existence. Yet he is unable to feel bitterness at this situation, for he appreciates its nature and remains a passive observer who refuses to intervene, even though this may cause him some discomfort: "Aber mein Unglück war es, beide Parteien zu verstehen, Augenzeuge zu bleiben, nicht zu richten und kein Pharisäer zu sein."[5] The disinclination to pass judgement is also apparent in the physician in circumstances where medical and judicial issues coincide, and where a doctor's testimony may be potentially important evidence. When the case of a vagabond, who had committed murder and subsequently suffered a stroke losing both his reason and sight, is drawn to his attention he is unwilling to condemn, for the medical man should support the patient, or be above him as an objective witness, but he should never be against him.[6] In this instance too, the necessity of appreciating all aspects of a given situation is realized: "Man muss die Interessen beider Parteien wahrnehmen. Ich musste auch die Gegenseite verstehen. Ich musste lernen."[7]

A further example of the physician's desire for objectivity and impartiality as an eye-witness to developing events may be seen in his initially neutral position when confronted with Hitler's megalomania and racial hatred for the first time in the hospital where the latter was being treated for his blindness: "Für mich hiess es nicht, sich für oder gegen ihn zu entscheiden, ich hatte ihn nicht zu richten."[8] In all these cases the physician appears as an essentially valuable observer of the world about him, for he may analyse this with scientific objectivity and thereby separate his perception from subjective opinions, conjecture or judgements which might otherwise obscure it. Yet although his function in the novel as an eye-witness to historical developments is hereby given great credibility and stressed as a substantial and significant role, the physician's ability to assess reality objectively is unfortunately not sustained and his insight becomes severely hindered by the previously mentioned moral weakness from which he suffers. In the very first paragraph of the novel this, together with other major thematic features, is already discernible:

> Das Schicksal hat mich dazu bestimmt, im Leben eines der seltenen Menschen, welche nach dem Weltkrieg gewaltige Veränderungen und unermessliche Leiden in Europa hervorrufen sollten, eine gewisse Rolle zu spielen. Oft habe ich mich nachher gefragt, was mich damals im Herbst 1918 zu jenem Eingriff bewogen hat, ob es Wissbegierde, die Haupteigenschaft eines in der ärztlichen Wissenschaft tätigen Forschers, war oder eine Art Gottähnlichkeit, der Wunsch, auch einmal das Schicksal zu spielen.[9]

The weakness inherent in the physician lies in a dangerous vanity which originates from the power and control that medical knowledge can bring. The superiority which the medical man may enjoy is first demonstrated to the narrator when, still a child, he is treated by the Jewish surgeon Kaiser, after having been badly injured by a kick from a horse's hoof. The sense of power transmitted through the superior knowledge and action of his doctor, and not the inherent humanitarianism of the latter's treatment, is a source of enthusiasm for the battered patient, and provides the probable initial impetus for his own decision to take up medicine.[10] Later on it is the possession of this same power which leads the narrator to regard himself dangerously as a kind of demi-god, a vanity which becomes clearly evident during his preoccupation with the curing of Hitler's blindness. Because the physician succumbs to this vanity his temperament may be said to conform in a way to that of the future demagogue whom he is treating. Similarities between the two lie in the common desire for power, in the belief that action and power are synonomous, and in the conviction that the transcendence of fate is possible via the deed. These parallelisms are clearly illustrated in the physician's state of mind immediately before his attempt to cure his blinded patient:

> Auch ich wollte wirken, ich musste handeln. Ich wollte herrschen, und jede Tat ist mehr oder weniger ein Herrschen, ein Verändern, ein Sich-über-das-Schicksal-aktiv-Erheben. Auch H. [Hitler] hatte sich über das Schicksal erhoben. Er wurde lieber blind, als dass er sich den Untergang Deutschlands ansah.[11]

As Hermann Kesten indicates, the physician is in this instance attempting to play the role of fate in the life of a man who himself tried to determine his own destiny,[12] an act with perilous implications and consequences, of which, however, he remains unaware. What the physicain subsequently perceives is but a distorted version of the truth, and, blinded by a vanity which stems from an awareness of his medical superiority, he thus loses his hold upon reality and is led far astray from his earlier, though intermittent objectivity. As a consequence he at first refuses to admit that the real sickness from which Hitler suffers, which is symptomized by the latter's brutal inconsiderations, his racial hatred and his lust for power, is a disease that may only be destroyed by the most violent and drastic means: "Dass ich ihn [Hitler] ...nicht von seiner Grundkrankheit heilen konnte, gestand ich mir nicht ein. Da war ich blind. Ich wollte es nicht sehen, weil mich eine Art Leidenschaft ergriffen hatte."[13] Although he is able later to diagnose Hitler's fanatical ravings as a deep and incurable sickness, the physician still disregards the potential danger to humanity which the former Austrian corporal poses. Hearing the fanatic speak for the first time he is thus not alarmed at the violence and hatred being expounded, but is instead pleased to observe Hitler's shyness towards him:

> H. hatte mich erkannt. Er wurde blass und wandte zuerst den Blick ab. Dann bezwang er sich und gab mir die Hand. Ich sah, er hatte eine Scheu vor mir. Das flösste mir aber ein gutes, warmes Gefühl ein, ich wollte ihm weiterhelfen. Gerne, war er nicht mein Werk?[14]

The vanity manifested in this passage is foolhardy and perilous, and by regarding his former patient as the product of his own powers, the physician comes very close to destroying his moral integrity as a healer. Having been able to cure Hitler's blindness, the physician now savours the accomplishments made possible by his medical knowledge, but in doing this he is impairing his insight as well as abusing his patient. The hybris resulting from his very actions as a doctor thus creates a dubious value for the physician's role as a social observer, just as his previous impartiality and objectivity had given it credibility and significance.

The physician's vanity is not, however, the only factor which distorts his sense of perspective, for the magnetic personality of Hitler, who, cured of his blindness, loses no time in his campaign for total power, soon influences him drastically and hypnotizes his mind. Although initially unaffected by the demagogue's ravings, as has been noted above, the physician, while attending a later speech, succumbs to the power and charisma of his former patient, and loses himself in an intoxicated frenzy:

> Er sprach, ich unterlag...merkte schaudernd, dass ich zitterte wie alle und dass ich ein Atom der Masse geworden war...Zum erstenmal habe ich begriffen, was es heisst, Weib sein und den Mann, der das Weib zuerst gegen ihren Willen und dann plötzlich mit ihrem Willen, mit ihren brennender Wollust zersprengt, unterliegen, in ihm aufgehen, mit ihm zusammenwachsen, als ob es auf ewig wäre.[15]

The effect of Hitler's speech upon the physician signifies, however, a major turning point in the novel. The realization that he, who has experienced the desire for power himself, has now become vulnerable to the spoken word of an agitator who had once been dependent upon his superior medical knowledge destroys the vanity and self-esteem which had dogged him and entrapped him within a narrow egoistic sphere of existence. Unencumbered by his former proud ambition he regrets his folly and regains an unimpeded perceptive capacity:

> Ich war für meine Person der geistigen Übermacht H.s entgangen, denn ich sah die Gefahr. Vielleicht bereute ich einen Augenblick lang, was ich im Herbst 1918 getan hatte. Ich hatte eingreifen, handeln, herrschen wollen. Ich war dem Schicksal unterlegen, während ich es in meiner Gottähnlichkeit hatte kommandieren wollen. Ich war machtlos, denn ich war allein.[16]

In continuing his role as an objective eye-witness to the social developments before him the physician now becomes more analytical and his insight is tempered by a psychological awareness. He speaks of an unfathomable element of human emotion, the "Unterseele", which is present in all personalities where it is suppressed by a veneer of reason and logic, but from which under certain circumstances it may be unleashed to do great harm.[17] Having himself experienced the latter process during the war when he, the scientific personality, had contributed to its barbarity, at the Pomeranian hospital where he had made his patient Hitler into an object of his creation, and at the Nazi rally when he had become fired by the latter's demagogic ravings, he realizes that the source of Hitler's power lies in his ability to manipulate its workings. He knows, for example, that at many decisive moments it is not the case that logical reasons determine man's convictions and decisions, but unfathomable fluctuations of emotion,[18] and that Hitler, who would always count upon the power of deception, constantly played upon the three basic and primitive qualities in man, his bestiality, inconstancy and cowardice, in order to set such emotional elements in motion.[19] The physician's recognition of this manipulation of fundamental human drives, the psychological aspect of social nazification, does not, however, preclude sympathy for those infected by the ideas of National Socialism. Again anxious not to condemn, he appreciates the psychological predicament of those weaker and less aware individuals who succumb completely to Hitler's influence, and he knows too that man, even at his most wicked, is capable of goodness. When Hitler's police, for reasons that will become apparent, conduct a search for him, he is assisted by the very same type of people as those who had unhesitatingly committed atrocities in the Nazi concentration camps. The physician's remark that man is something terrible but also something godlike,[20] reflects once more his important ability to perceive all characteristics of a situation. On the other hand, even though he may understand with a degree of sympathy the psychological causes of Germany's moral decay, the physician does not overlook the country's ugliness and hypocrisy,[21] and he senses the necessity for taking positive measures against the menace of Hitler and his supporters. Accordingly, he becomes a member of the German Democratic

Party, the clear, humane and freedom-loving principles of which had attracted and interested him for some time. When he takes this step a conscious transformation occurs within him, and his function as an observant witness of the reality about him is supplanted by that of an active combatant against the brutal regime led by his former patient:

> Ich...trat der demokratischen Partei wieder aktiv bei, denn es war mir bei der Rede des H. aufgegangen, es sei nicht mehr die Zeit für den wissenschaftlichen Beobachter des Weltuntergangs, für den objektiven Augenzeugen.[22]

In his new role as a political opponent of Hitler the physician soon realizes, however, that the Democratic Party, because of the very humanity of its programmes, lacks the type of power necessary to defeat the Nazi leader. In his subsequent analysis of the situation in Germany the helpless and ineffacious position of the humane individual in a brutal, pragmatic and deceitful age is made evident:

> Konnten wir ihm [Hitler] auf der anderen Seite etwas Gleiches entgegensetzen? Wir konnten es nicht...Es fehlte uns die naive Brutalität ebenso wie die naive Sentimentalität, die Faust, die Träne und die Lüge... Wir wollten mit den alten Methoden in einer neuen Zeit wirken, in der die Knechte zu Herren geworden waren und die Stärke alles war.[23]

Such a state of affairs forms a striking parallel to that at the close of Hofmannsthal's Der Turm, where the lower elements of society dominate with a rule of force. Despite the apparently helpless situation of the physician in Ich-

Der Augenzeuge, however, he possesses a potentially dangerous weapon against his former patient which opens a definite course of resistive action. The medical notes amassed by him during the course of Hitler's hospitalization, which were originally to be used as material for instruction classes, and which contain much intimate information concerning the demagogue's personal life, including his experiences with women, are a particularly formidable propaganda threat to the latter and his cause. Yet although the sensitivity of the Nazi leader to the compromising details of his medical record places great power in the physician's hands, the secrets of Hitler's personal life are only significant to him as a means of preserving his individual honour as a doctor, and of asserting his own courage and defiance in the face of a brutal despotism: "Ich wollte mir meinen Mut beweisen, indem ich sie [die Protokolle] behielt."[24] Despite the undoubted praiseworthy substance of this new conviction, such an attitude is questionable in that it can be said to reflect a certain amount of the same impairing egoistic vanity which had dogged the physician previously. Any propaganda potential the medical file might have had is nullified, just as the personal satisfaction of its compiler is achieved, and Hitler, the object of the collective political opposition of the Democratic party, now becomes a private foe as far as the physician is concerned.

Because of his refusal to part with the sensitive file the physician is eventually arrested and sent to the concentration camp at D. (Dachau?), where the individualisation of conflict and resistance, which had developed out of the unusual relationship between a doctor and his blind Austrian patient, and which had negated perhaps the final opportunity to defeat what the latter had become, now serves the narrator in an indispensable fashion during the torture he endures. The determination which the physician employs not to submit to his persecutors is made possible by the thought of achieving an individual victory over his powerful adversary.[25] Another crucial factor in his survival at D. is nothing less than the superiority of the medical man, which, combined with the physician's function as an objective observer, provides him with the means of withstanding suffering and pain:

> Ich glaube, ich hatte...instinktiv das einzige Mittel, um alles lebend auszuhalten, gefunden...und ich hatte die Übermacht des Arztes, wenn ich so sagen darf, in meinem eigenen Fall wirken lassen. Ich stand als Augenzeuge neben dem Häftling. Ich befahl mir und gehorchte mir.[26]

Having been able to get away from the concentration camp, the narrator, together with his family, arrives in France where he experiences the difficulties of an alien seeking to make a living in a not overly friendly country.[27] Seeing a photograph of a shattered child-victim of the Spanish Civil War he eventually decides to offer his services to the Republican side in that conflict, and in so doing is not motivated by his former egoistic desire to master fate, but by a genuine feeling of compassion for his fellow man. Thus at the close of the work the physician's function of resistance becomes unproblematic and accomplished in a fuller sense. In choosing to join the Republicans in Spain he is able to take up an active struggle against the anti-democratic principles he had been witness to in Germany, and at the same time may be said to be continuing his personal conflict with Hitler, who had sent troops and materials to aid the right-wing forces. More significant, however, the physician, inspired out of a feeling of sympathy for the victims of despotism, of which he himself had once been one, now functions very much as a redeemer of a country despoiled and disgraced by an evil tyranny.

The role of the physician in Ich-Der Augenzeuge is thus characterized by a development from a passive but largely objective observer to an active opponent of a system to the origins of which he had made an unwitting but fateful contribution, and in another sense from a fluctuation from inner weakness to courageous resolution. As an eye-witness to social developments in Germany during Hitler's drive for, and subsequent attainment of political power, he provides insight into the psychological aspects of Hitler's success, and by means of an analytical observation of his own faults indicates the sometimes alarming motivations and drives within man, which in the person of Hitler had reached their most extreme megalomaniac form.[28] Weiss' character, without excusing the deeds of some of his countrymen, subsequently does much to explain how National Socialism with its cunning propaganda, ambitious objectives and channelled hatred could flourish, but at the same time he realizes its dangers and knows that measures must be undertaken to curb it. In setting out to do this he again affords insight into a situation in Germany which could justifiably be termed irrational, for, as the physician indicates, all reasonable, humane arguments go practically unheard in a period in which most citizens, many for reasons given above, were completely enraptured by the demagogic ravings of Hitler. If, however, rationality could be made to prevail in some areas of the population, the concentration camps, of which the physician himself had bitter experiences, awaited those who dared resist or object to the Nazi doctrines. Thus with no other alternative at hand the physician leaves Germany for France, and eventually Spain, and in so doing he not only represents the position of the many good Germans who refused to accept the Nazi prescription for a new Germany, and who were forced to flee from their homeland and become refugees abroad, for in his prolonged resistance to the evils of despotism he also constitutes, as Hermann Kesten indicates, a redemption of the German people at a time when it would not have been difficult to despair of all too many Germans.[29]

Another victim of Nazi oppression and who resists in the only way he can is the physician Ravic in Erich Maria Remarque's well rendered and strangely gripping novel Arc de Triomphe (1945).[30] Remarque, whose widely read bestselling anti-war novel Im Westen nichts Neues (1929), along with other of his works, was banned in Germany after 1933, was born in Osnabrück in 1898, the son of a bookbinder. From 1916 on he fought in the First World War and afterwards spent several years as a journalist in Berlin. He later lived abroad, and went to the United States in 1939 after his German citizenship had been taken from him. Strongly opposed to Hitler, as well as militarism in general, he chose contemporary social backgrounds for his works, which were written, as indicated in the case of Arc de Triomphe, in an exciting and highly effective style, even when dealing with negative themes of decline and destruction. He died in Locarno in 1970.

Arc de Triomphe, which, like Im Westen nichts Neues became a bestselling novel, concerns the existence of Ravic, an accomplished surgeon and former head of a hospital department in Germany, in the seamier sections of Parisian society shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. For refusing to provide information to the Gestapo in the earlier years of Nazi rule Ravic had been sent to a concentration camp, where he had suffered severely at the hands of the Gestapo officer Haake. After managing to escape, he had arrived illegally in France and had later gone to Spain to fight for the Republican cause. The action of the novel begins after this period, when Ravic is precariously established in the French capital making a meagre living by means of illegal, though expertly handled operations. In Paris

Ravic meets Joan Madou, a lonely woman with whom he establishes a relationship, and from whom he later derives much inner strength which sustains him in his struggle to survive. Living in constant fear of discovery and deportation, which in fact occurs, Ravic becomes cynical, but never desperate. His pattern of existence changes, however, with the sighting of Haake in a Paris restaurant. Resolving to destroy his former tormentor, he devises a careful plan which is successfully executed, and Ravic, now spiritually at ease for the first time in years, is no longer concerned to flee as the German armies begin to threaten continental Europe, but allows himself to be sent to a French internment camp even though capture by his enemies is thereby made virtually certain. The chronological background to the work is the critical period from November 1938 to August 1939, and references to actual historical events, together with grim appraisals of the European situation, occur frequently throughout the action. Despite the attraction of its style the novel is essentially a pessimistic work pervaded by gloom and cynicism, but also one in which the physician plays an important role in revealing the effects of National Socialism upon nations, as well as individuals, and in assessing the social climate of the few short months left to the countries of Europe before the unleashing of the second full-scale conflict within a generation.

Although Ravic is an insecure individual with a false identity in a foreign capital, the harsh lessons of his constantly changing life[31] prove a great asset to his self-preservation, and have sharpened his insight and awareness in the perception of the world about him. Through his cynic's eyes he observes the world at all levels of reality, and has seen too much to be deceived by illusions that power, idealism or wealth can bring. The first is regarded by him as the most contagious of all diseases, while idealists are seen as fanatics and most difficult to endure, and material wealth as deceptive and essentially negative.[32] Precisely because his is such a fragile, precarious existence, Ravic's appreciation of common everyday circumstances is acutely intense. Thus even the mundane routine of the customers in a small bistro is something to be considered and envied: "Da war sicheres, einfaches Leben, ein Dasein, mit Fäusten anzupacken, auszuarbeiten, Müdigkeit abends, Essen, eine Frau und schwerer, traumloser Schlaf."[33] Yet Ravic knows too that even the insignificant assuredness of such small components of city life is illusory, for the whole social age is moribund, and Paris itself a mere façade of healthy activity: "Wir leben in einer sterbenden Zeit, und diese Stadt bebt von Leben."[34] Forced to seek refuge in a decadent world from the hostile disease which has afflicted his homeland, Ravic has ample opportunity to analyze the unfavourable symptoms of the times. To him the unconcerned European indifference to the threat of Nazi Germany represents a fundamental sickness. In a pensive mood one evening in a Paris cafe he compares the countries of Europe to a walrus herd in which each animal is comfortable in the thought that it will survive, even as the hunter dispatches its neighbour:

> Die Geschicht der Walrossherde, Hundert am Strand; zwischen ihnen der Jäger, der eines nach dem andern mit der Keule erschlug. Zusammen konnten sie ihn leicht erdrücken - aber sie lagen da, sahen ihn kommen, morden und rührten sich nicht; er erschlug ja nur gerade den Nachbarn - einen Nachbarn nach dem andern. Das Abendrot der Zivilisation- Müde, gestaltlose Götterdämmerung. Die leeren Banner der Menschenrechte. Der Ausverkauf eines Kontinents. Anbrandende Sintflut. Krämergeschäftigkeit um die letzten Preise. Der alte Jammertanz auf dem Vulkan. Völker, wieder einmal auf die Schlachtbank getrieben.[35]

This passage is a fitting reflection of the European predicament in the last years before the Second World War. While Austria had been consumed by the German Reich and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was fast becoming a reality, the rest of Europe had refrained from intervening, or at best, contented itself with promises having no ultimate value. Although it was true that in the case of Czechoslovakia a more active response was provoked from the other European powers by the German action, than when the Nazis entered Austria, the former was nevertheless to disappear off the map in March, 1939, deserted and forsaken by countries which had promised and guaranteed her protection.[36] When considering this type of apathy and refusal to acknowledge fully what he recognizes as the endless devouring aggression of Hitler's Germany, Ravic reveals the universality of such dangerous complacence: "Jeder wusste, dass die Welt apathisch in einen neuen Krieg hineintrieb. Niemand hatte etwas dagegen - Aufschub..,das war alles, worum man sich aufraffte zu kämpfen."[37] Even Veber, one of Ravic's few friends and at whose clinic he operates, is seen by the latter to be guilty of the same type of easy-going indifference.[38]

Precisely because Ravic is able to detect and define the symptoms of social decline to a much deeper extent than practically any other individual in the novel,[39] his objectives are geared to simplicity and fundamental practicality. Having realized the moribund nature of an age threatened by internal self-deception as well as external aggression, Ravic is left with but one course - to accept the dangers of his times and ride them out until an improved situation presents itself:

> Er lebte, das war genug. Es lag ihm nichts daran in einer Zeit, wo alles schwankte, etwas aufzubauen, das in kurzer Zeit zusammenstürzen musste. Es war besser zu treiben, als Kraft zu verschwenden, sie war das einzige, was unersetzbar war. Überstehen war alles, bis irgendwo ein Ziel sichtbar wurde...Eine Lawine war nicht aufzuhalten, wenn sie im Rollen war: - wer es versuchte, kam darunter. Besser abzuwarten und später die Verschütteten auszugraben. Wenn viel marschiert wurde, musste man leichtes Gepäck haben.[40]

This passage does much to sum up the position of the small individual pitted against political-historical forces over which there is no control, and Ravid accordingly appears practically functionless in this respect. For him the most important issue is not to take on the negative factors which are threatening from both without and within, but to survive in spite of them, which, as has perhaps been indicated, is for long periods in the novel the sole essence of his existence. Of the factors which aid him in this basic struggle Ravic's cynicism is the most important, for it not only sharpens Ravic's insight, but also nullifies the feelings and desires which might otherwise have shattered him spiritually.[41] His cynicism is not absolute, however, and there is too much of a fundamental humane and sympathetic quality left in him to prevent a hardening of his personality.[42] Also important to Ravic in his struggle to survive are the trivial things of life which, taken together, form a further barrier against issues damaging to the spirit. Thus the question of prices during a sale, or whether one's cousin intends to get married, become formidable weapons necessary in the attempt to withstand spiritual collapse.[43] Medicine too is a substantial aid in Ravic's fight for survival. It represents to him order and certainty in a fragile world, and a sense of precision and direction in an all too precarious existence:

> Ravic beugte sich über den Patienten...
> Er fühlte den Stahl kühl durch die dünnen
> Handschuhe. Es war gut, ihn zu fühlen.
> Es war gut, aus schwankender Ungewissheit
> wieder zu klarer Präzision zu kommen...
> Alles wurde plötzlich einfach. Er fühlte
> ...sich selbst wieder. Das sausende laut-
> lose Licht. Zu Hause, dachte er. Endlich![44]

On the other hand, the prospect of achieving revenge for the torture he had suffered at the hands of the Gestapo is also a significant factor in his survival. This hope, a single weak light in the darkness of the past, is a particularly valuable asset in moments of extreme loneliness and melancholy.[45] Finally, a further source of inspiration in Ravic's lonely existence is his affair with Joan Madou, who, despite leaving him to establish a relationship with an actor, instills into his life, a life described as a crime in a period of catastrophe,[46] a sense of vitality and deeper purpose, which eventually results in a rare and fundamental emotional re-awakening as he stands one night in the rain before Joan's Paris flat.[47]

Although Ravic's notion of survival signifies a conscious retreat from the sick conditions in which he finds himself, and a preoccupation with the rudimentary business of keeping his basic existence intact, there exist for him, however, ultimate standards which may not be abused. Accordingly, he refuses to acquiesce in a situation where human dignity suffers because of man's total indifference, passivity and armchair headshaking in circumstances where the erosion of fundamental human values is taking place. Even in the depths of individual wretchedness, he considers, there is much positive value in a man's life:

> Es war einfach, den Kopf zu schütteln und zu finden, man sollte vernünftig sein. Aber verdammt, es war nicht einfach! Ein Leben war ein Leben; es war nichts wert und alles; man konnte es wegwerfen, das war auch einfach. Aber warf man damit nicht auch...das weg, was verhöhnt,

> bespuckt und lächerlich gemacht täglich und stündlich, ungefähr so hiess wie Glaube an Menschlichkeit und Menschheit, trotz allem? Ein leeres Leben - das warf man nicht weg wie eine leere Patrone! Es war immer noch gut genug, um zu kämpfen, wenn die Zeit dafür kam und wenn es gebraucht werden konnte.[48]

This is a significant passage in which Ravic stresses the basic value of existence in any situation, and in which the core of his sentiment is revealed. It indicates that he is ready to oppose sickness under more favourable and worthwhile conditions, as he had done in Spain, and that his inactivity in the seedier sections of Paris is not necessarily a permanent phase of his life.

With the sighting of Haake in a Paris restaurant these indications begin to assume concrete form. From now on a definite change occurs in the pattern of Ravic's activities, for Haake, in France on clandestine and non-too friendly business for the Nazi government,[49] becomes the unsuspecting quarry of the man he had tormented in the early days of National Socialist rule. Yet although the thought of vengeance had often fired Ravic's dampened spirit, he realizes now, when analyzing his motives for wanting to destroy Haake, that there is far more at stake than personal revenge:

> Was ging es ihn noch an? Einer mehr oder weniger. Einer mehr oder weniger von Hunderttausenden, die ebenso schlimm waren oder noch schlimmer. Einer weniger. Er blieb mit einem Ruck stehen. Das war es! Das hatte sie gross werden lassen, dass man müde wurde, dass man vergessen wollte, dass man dachte: was geht es mich noch an? Das war es! Einer weniger! Ja, einer

> weniger - das war nichts, aber es war auch alles![50]

In this instant Ravic takes the field both against the malignant sickness pervading and corrupting his own country, and the comfortable but fatal indifference to its very real dangers which he detects elsewhere in pre-war Europe. After carefully planning the destruction of Haake, a matter in which his expertise in concealment and survival plays no small part, he achieves his object with an efficiency and shocking thoroughness which is especially prominent in the removal of any evidence which might implicate him in the deed. The effect it has upon him, like his cynicism or his illegal medical activity, is therapeutic,[51] but Ravic also kills Haake swiftly and coldly with no sense of triumph, just as if he were completing another operation at Veber's clinic:

> Ich habe ein Vieh ausgelöscht, das es tausend - und tausendmal schlimmer verdient hat... Er ist erledigt, und er wird keine Menschen mehr quälen, und ich habe darüber geschlafen, und es ist so weit weg jetzt, als läse ich es in der Zeitung.[52]

Arc de Triomphe may be said to consist of two unequal sections which generally correspond to the differing major roles which Ravic plays in the novel's action, and which are separated by the re-emergence of Haake in the latter's solitary existence. In the longer opening section Ravic, his powers of observation sharpened by the constant danger of exposure, by his own bitter experiences and by an expert scientific mind, is essentially important in exposing the symptoms of decline within a society threatened by external aggression. Although instances have already been cited in which this role becomes clear, perhaps the best example occurs in the second part of the book when Ravic is predominantly occupied with his plan to destroy his former torturer. At an exclusive costume party one evening with Kate Hegstrom, another of his few friends, Ravic observes the wet faces, ruined cosmetics and soaked attire of the select guests as they seek shelter from a sudden and violent rainstorm:

> Ravic blickte umher; er sah viel Schönheit um sich herum; er sah auch Geist und skeptische Klugheit; - aber sein Auge war ebenso trainiert auf die leichten Zeichen von Krankheit, und er wurde nicht leicht getäuscht durch eine perfekte Oberfläche. Er wusste, dass eine bestimmte Gesellschaft in allen Jahrhunderten, grossen und kleinen, dieselbe war - aber er wusste auch, was Fieber und Zerfall war, und er kannte ihre Symptome. Laue Promiskuität, die Toleranz der Schwäche; der Sport ohne Stärke; Geist ohne Diskretion; Witz des Witzes wegen; Blut, das müde war, zerfunkelt in Ironie, in kleinen Abenteuern, in schaler Gier, in geschliffenem Fatalismus, in matter Zwecklosigkeit. Von hier würde die Welt nicht gerettet werden, dachte er, Aber von wo?[53]

The loose, drained and shallow reality of the party society which Ravic detects beneath its façade of attractiveness and opulence, is in keeping with the quiescence and neglectful lack of resolution he encounters during his austere daily routine of Parisian life. His analysis of the washed-out costumed gathering which in many ways might be seen as a microcosm of the Western bourgeois society that Hitler was soon to menace, indicates the weakness of the social structure which exists about and above him, and explains in part the reasons for the lack of action in countering the threat that Hitler posed.

While the physician-narrator of Ernst Weiss' novel Ich-Der Augenzeuge has revealed some of the psychological aspects of social nazification within Germany, Ravic exposes the complacent and/or resourceless mentality elsewhere in Europe which was by no means an unimportant factor in the rapidity and extent of the impending Nazi military conquest. He lays bare both a European mind continually prepared to avoid or postpone any confrontation with Nazi Germany despite the increasing belligerency of that country, and a mood which was perhaps best epitomized by the appeasement policies of the British Prime Minister Chamberlain and his misguided belief in "peace in our time" - a phrase itself characteristically suggestive of postponement and lacking any notion of finality and ultimate resolution - while Hitler was clearly underway with ruthless expansion plans he had originally described in Mein Kampf in 1923.[54] Ravic's function in exposing aspects of the inert foreign response to the threat of National Socialism generally recedes, however, in the latter part of the novel, where he assumes with the murder of Haake the role of a destroyer. Yet although Haake had been responsible for Ravic's extreme sufferings of earlier years, he, as the victim, is not destroyed as the object of personal revenge, but as the representative of the vicious evil threatening all decent society. Like the physician of Ich-Der Augenzeuge, Ravic thus takes a stand against the tyranny of National Socialism, as well as the extensive apathy he experiences towards it, but as he does this, the moral difficulties which had confronted his colleague in Weiss' novel do not exist.[55] For Ravic the murder of Haake, like the rejection of the insensitive complacency with which he is surrounded, is a human obligation, and in this sense his brutal deed may be justified as a clinical and corrective social measure.

Significant too is Ravic's representative role in Arc de Triomphe. Reflecting in general, as he does, the unhappy situation of the many individuals and families forced to flee from Nazi Germany, Ravic is particularly prominent in this function in the first part of the novel during an incident involving the French immigration authorities. After assisting a woman injured by collapsing building scaffolding while on his way to Veber's clinic, Ravic attracts the attention of the police who soon discover his illegal status in France. Sent before Leval, a high immigration official whose gallbladder, ironically, he had removed a short while previously, he angrily reveals both the plight of men such as himself whose sole offence is the rejection of tyranny, as well as the coldness and hypocrisy of other nations which refuse to acknowledge the true situation of German refugees.[56]

Perhaps the most important aspect of Ravic's role in the novel is inherent, however, in the extreme polar nature of his activities, in which the erosion of individual life by the brutality of National Socialism is evident, even beyond the borders of Germany. With the choice of maintaining an illegal existence abroad or of suffering the concentration camps of his own country, Ravic leads a life which has lost much of its normalcy. In this respect the heed paid to otherwise insignificant details of small Paris cafes and the unimportant everyday conversations of ordinary people in the street, the constant self-analysis, as well, of course, as the deep protective cynicism are good examples of the distortion of the quality of Ravic's life, as he is forced by circumstances he cannot control into a passive underground mode of existence. The distortion is even more striking, however, when Ravic switches to an active role in the novel's action with his pursuit and murder of Haake. As a physician Ravic is dedicated to preserving life, but in order to do this, or at least to attempt to improve social conditions, he must, in the case of the Gestapo official, first destroy. The tragedy for Ravic lies in the fact that the corruption of values initiated by the Nazi regime is extended to its victims, who in order to resist, must employ the same brutal methods as their persecutor. The polarity manifested in Ravic's activities - his suppressed static and cynical method of survival, and his sudden exteme and violent active surge - indicates clearly the deterioration of the stable humanitarian personality at the hands of malevolent historical forces, and in this instance Arc de Triomphe, by means of its important sympathy-arousing medical figure, becomes a significant document in revealing some of the mediate effects of National Socialism upon the individual, as well as, through the same source, exposing some of the negative social circumstances which later on played no small part in the military successes of Hitler's armies. In the final work to be studied in this chapter, Rolf Hochhuth's drama Der Stellvertreter (1963), the full horror and grotesque insanity of Hitler's Third Reich is made directly evident, however, in the perverse undertakings of physicians whose humanitarian ideals have either been contaminated by the Nazi racial ideology or by a bizarre egoism which transcends all rational values.[57]

The cornerstone of Nazi racial ideology was the belief in the genetic superiority of the so-called Aryan racial type, which was constantly threatened by inferior racial elements, of which the Jew was held to be the most dangerous. This idea is clearly expressed by Hitler in Mein Kampf:

> Was wir heute an menschlicher Kultur, an Ereignissen von Kunst, Wissenschaft und Technik vor uns sehen, ist nahezu ausschliesslich schöpferisches Produkt des Ariers. Gerade diese Tatsache aber lässt den nicht unbegründeten Rückschluss zu, dass er allein der Begründer höheren Menschentums überhaupt war, mithin den Urtyp dessen darstellt, was wir unter dem Worte "Mensch" verstehen...Den gewaltigsten Gegensatz zum Arier bildet der Jude...Er ist und bleibt der typische Parasit, ein Schmarotzer, der wie ein schädlicher Bazillus sich immer mehr ausbreitet. Die Wirkung seines Daseins

> aber gleicht ebenfalls der von Schmarotzern: wo er auftritt, stirbt das Wirtsvolk nach kürzerer oder längerer Zeit ab.[58]

Such notions, in conjunction with the expansion and Germanization plans the Nazis had for the Third Reich, ultimately meant the elimination of all those deemed racially inferior to the Aryan type, and eventually led, as will be seen, to the building of huge extermination centres where genocide, an expression which had to be invented to fit the enormity of the criminal undertaking, became a vast and accomplished industry.[59] Directly connected with the Nazi racial policies were elements of a German medical profession, which since 1933 had become increasingly enmeshed in the political dealings of the Nazi state.[60] This highly problematic situation had its origins in the years before Nazi rule when, because of the Party's ideal of a pure and strong Germany, much emphasis was placed upon health and fitness, topics which had been included as important issues in the 25 point programme of the Party as early as February, 1920.[61] With the Nazi assumption of power thirteen years later, the consequences of this soon became evident, for health was vital to the regime not only as a means of ensuring a physically strong and fit military force, but it was also important in an ideological sense when it became identified with Aryanism. Medicine was therefore an integral factor in the general process of social nazification, in which it was to suffer a complete reversal of its traditional humanitarian values.

The initial move in the Nazi state's absorption of medical practice constituted a two year reduction in the length of university medical courses which, together with a higher university student population, produced 19,000 more physicians in the first ten years of Hitler's rule than in the last ten of the Weimar Republic.[62] This occurred despite the fact that during Republican days claims had been made that there had been a surplus of approximately 5,000 doctors. The apparent multitude of medical practitioners in Hitler's Germany did not, however, necessarily signify an overall improvement in the general quality of medical care. The two year shortening of medical study requirements, the dismissal of several thousand Jewish doctors, as well as a decrease in the number of medical specialists and the designation of many doctors to military, and other much more sinister roles in National Socialist medicine "actually left the general public less well provided for than before."[63] Furthermore, medicare patients were deliberately frustrated in their efforts to obtain medical certificates, which was a direct consequence of a government policy designed to keep the work force active under almost any conditions, and which reflected an official awareness that during periods of good employment, such as that created by Hitler's state, when positions were plentiful and secure, absenteeism and missed working hours due to minor ailments tended to proliferate. The subjection of medical practice to government policy also signified a notable decrease in the number of independent general practitioners, who subsequently suffered a substantial reduction in social status. The most important medical posts, on the other hand, became those expressly concerned with the National Socialist political objectives, in particular those connected with the activities of the SS, which were directly linked to the regime's racial ideology and all that it implied. It was here that medical practice underwent its most grotesque and obscene transormation. In order to secure the purity and security of the Aryan race, some 350 doctors worked on experiments to determine the effects of poisonous gases and other chemicals upon the human body, on projects such as mass sterilization and euthanasia programmes, and most horrific of all, on methods to implement a successful policy of genocide against the so-called inferior races. These physicians represented the ultimate level of evil in the fusion of medicine and political ideology, yet as faithful and willing servants of the ruling status quo in Germany they regarded themselves as defenders and protectors against biologically inferior, and therefore diseased social elements threatening their racial security.[64] Thus, the major function of the National Socialist physician was the establishment and maintenance, by the most drastically brutal and inhuman means imaginable, or a pure, and therefore healthy Aryan society, in accordance with the ideological objectives of the National Socialist regime. The traditional practice of medicine was only tolerated in as far as it did not interfere with the successful execution of the regime's policies, and sickness, the usual field of activity for medical men, was rejected as a weakness which could not be tolerated, while simultaneously extended to encompass all those social or racial elements which did not conform to the Nazi biological standards of Aryan purity.

It was mainly in the conquered eastern territories of Poland that the practical measures to ensure the racial purity of the Third Reich were carried out. A chain of extermination and medical "research" complexes was established, ranging from Stutthof in the north, Treblinka, Chelmno, Sobibor, to Maidanek, Belzec and finally Auschwitz-Birkenau in the south.[65] Of these, the establishment at Auschwitz on the main Vienna-Cracow railway line, and formerly the headquarters of an Imperial Austrian cavalry unit, was the largest, and in Nazi eyes, the most successful centre of human destruction. It came, in fact, to be regarded "as a form of industry, with human beings as its waste product,"[66] and it was here that the elegant and outwardly charming Dr. Josef Mengele, who is apparently still at large today in Paraguay, selected victims for the gas chambers with flicks of his riding whip, and embarked upon a ridiculous but inhuman study of twins in order that future German mothers might become doubly fruitful. With facilities far superior to those at the other death camps, Auschwitz-Birkenau was to account at the height of its operations during the latter part of the war for the daily extermination of 12,000 "racially inferior" prisoners. This horrific efficiency was eventually to be responsible for the murder and complete disposal of an estimated two million victims, an accomplishment which, in the appallingly proud terminology of the camp commandant Rudolf Höss, made Auschwitz "the greatest human extermination centre of all time."[67]

In Der Stellvertreter both the evil of Auschwitz and the hideous perversions of Nazi medicine are full exposed. Like other works of its writer, such as Soldaten (1968) and Guerillas (1970), its bold, sobering revelation of particularly tender, controversial and troubled phases of modern history has won the respect of numerous critics throughout the world. Born in the Hessian town of Eschwege in 1931 and now residing in Basle, Hochhuth has written a play which, according to Erwin Piscator, constitutes one of the few fundamental contributions to the overcoming of the past, and which shows that history which has been written with the blood of millions of innocent lives can never become null and void.[68] The widely acclaimed and performed drama has as its main background theme the controversial refusal of the Vatican to denounce openly the racial policies of Hitler's regime, despite full awareness of what was happening in the actual death camps and elsewhere.[69] Its leading characters are derived from actual historical figures, of whom the already-mentioned and still living criminal doctor Mengele is among the most notorious.[70] The action of the play covers the months from August 1942, the period of Germany's greatest military expansion, to October 1943, a time when the war had ceased to go well for Hitler. It begins with the appearance in the Berlin papal nunciate of Kurt Gerstein, the SS officer in charge of the technical aspects of the extermination facilities at the Polish death camps.

Despite his responsibility Gerstein is violently opposed to Hitler's plans for mass genocide, and seeks to enlist the aid of the Vatican in bringing pressure to bear against such policies. Of the church officials he meets, only one, Riccardo Fontana, is apparently prepared to give active assistance, and he later supports Gerstein when the latter attempts to further his aims in Rome. Paralleling this line of action are the activities of the SS, which are chiefly represented by the infamous figures of Eichmann, Hirt and the Doktor (Mengele), and which in the play's final act take place in Auschwitz itself. Gerstein, as the link between these two spheres of dramatic operation, constantly appears during the play, and while apparently not under direct suspicion, he is regarded both by Eichmann and the Doktor as being not strictly loyal to the Führer's plans.[71] In the fifth act of the drama the two sub-plots appear to merge, as the representatives of Christian humanitarianism, Riccardo and Gerstein, are finally confronted and unmasked by the Doktor at Auschwitz. Riccardo, dismayed by the total lack of papal initiative, had in an act of Christian charity himself gone to Auschwitz to share the suffering of the deported Jews. Gerstein, learning of this, had forged a release order, but instead of Riccardo, had met Jacobson, a Jew he had earlier tried to help and who had assumed the priest's identity. With the appearance of the genuine Riccardo, it is planned that Jacobson should continue in his disguise and leave with Gerstein. These intentions are thwarted, however, by the appearance of the Doktor, who had already met the real Riccardo and sent him to work in the Auschwitz crematoria. In the ensuing action Riccardo is shot, Gerstein is arrested and Jacobson reduced to a helplees wreck, while the Doktor is left triumphant. The play ends with a recording of the letter sent to Berlin by the German ambassador to the Vatican, in which the pope's refusal to act in the Jewish question is confirmed, and with the grim reminder - also a recording - that the Auschwitz gas chambers continued their work for another full year, attaining in the summer of 1944 their fullest capacity in the destruction of innocent victims.

The sinister role played by medicine in the workings of National Socialism is well documented in Hochhuth's drama in the development of the characters of Professor Hirt and the Doktor. The former, a professor at the "Reichsuniversität" Strassburg where he conducts anatomical experiments and undertakes the examination and collection of human skulls, represents an historical figure whose idiocy and bestiality exceeded that of the majority of the SS doctors.[72] Convinced of the idea of Aryan racial superiority, Hirt, during a bowling evening with his SS colleagues at an early stage in the play, defines his hideous activities as beneficial to the new Germany, in that they provide a scientific and just basis for the extermination of the so-called inferior races:

> Doch wisset Se, anhand d'r Lichtbilder ond der Masse des Kopfes ond schliesslich des Schädels könnet mir en Strossburg HAARgenaue vergleichende anatomische Forschunge durchführe. Rassenzugehörigkeit, pathologische Erscheinunge d'r Gehirnform und - grösse - auf EINE Formel gebracht: unsere Enkel sollet später wisse, warom die Endlösung der Judefrog auch wissenschaftlich EINWANDFREI naturgegeben ond notwending war.[73]

Because he is convinced of the value of his scientific "research" for the future generations of Germany, Hirt is amazingly indifferent to the amount of human life he is destroying in its process. His particular wish is the head of a Russian commissary who is to be handed over to him alive, an action reflecting a privilege which was actually granted by Himmler to any reasonably important SS doctor who required living prisoners for the purposes of "research".[74] Hirt's political-medical function of explaining and confirming, by means of the shape and form of modern human skulls, the existence of supposedly natural laws which would prove the supremacy of the Aryan racial type is a grotesque distortion of traditional medical practice, and is well illustrative of the imbecilic thinking of a self-styled elite race which, among other things, sent an investigator to the Tibetan mountains to "discover" the origins of the true Aryan people, and which linked the ancient Germanic runic script with Japanese ideogrammes in an attempt to establish the Aryanism of the latter.[75]

The activities of Professor Hirt, whose historical prototype was, incidentally, never caught at the close of the war, are far surpassed in their horror and insanity, however, by the undertakings of the Doktor, the chief medical man at the Auschwitz camp. In his own descriptions of this character Hochhuth stresses the incomprehensible nature of a figure which seemingly represents the incarnation of absolute evil, and which must ultimately defy comparison even with such diabolical men as Heydrich, or Hitler himself.[76] As indicated briefly above, he is based upon the criminal doctor Josef Mengele who was often to be seen in his black SS uniform on the unloading ramp at Auschwitz, from where in a most charming and avuncular manner he sent countless men, women and children to their deaths in the camp's distant gas-chambers. Like Mengele, the Doktor constantly brandishes a small riding-whip which is also used to indicate the intended victims of immediate death on the ramp, and he is also interested in the same lunatic and bestial study of twins as his historical counterpart. A far more complex figure than Hirt, the Doktor may only be ultimately understood as functioning upon two different levels, both of which totally negate the traditional humanitarian principles of medicine.

At Auschwitz the Doktor is involved in a study of twin births, as well as with a sterilization programme for non-Aryan spouses, and above all, with the regime's extermination policies in which he plays a leading role. Thus, like Hirt, the Doktor has the same political-medical function of preserving the security of the Aryan race, although his specific duties differ; whereas the former is concerned with establishing the proof of the need for genocide, the latter is responsible for its successful execution. In this sense Auschwitz becomes for the Doktor a centre for destroying the racial sickness of the Third Reich, and its specific cure lies in its crematoria and burning pits: "Das Feuer ist ein guter Arzt. Das wird/den Juden und den Christen ausglühn."[77] Unlike Hirt, however, who is a grossly misguided but nevertheless avid National Socialist idealist, enthused by what he is doing, the Doktor derives little satisfaction from the fact that his role in the Nazi genocide programme does a great deal to transform Hitler's racial objectives into reality. He is instead completely cynical, being interested in absolutely nothing and nobody.[78] At the bowling session mentioned earlier he declares, to Hirt's angry surprise, that his work, like all heroism, has been futile, and, when visiting Gerstein in the following scene, he scornfully questions the value of adhering to a faith or of believing in the future: "Glauben! Wer glaubt noch an den Glauben - Mensch,/und an die Zukunft!"[79] A further puzzling factor is his desire to study philosophy. During the same visit to Gerstein he reveals to the latter that his real interest lies in this subject, while medicine remains for him merely a professional occupation.[80] The indifference to his "medical" activity, and its political implications, as well as perhaps the inclination to philosophy is, however, clarified in the fifth act of the drama at Auschwitz, in a series of conversations with Helga, an operator in the SS signals department, with whom the Doktor enjoys frequent sexual relations, and, much more notably, with Riccardo. As far as the Doktor is concerned, the essential motive behind the massive destruction of life at Auschwitz[81] is not the preservation of Aryan racial health, but a grotesque means of provoking an unequivocal answer to the question of whether or not God exists:

> Im Grunde gilt meine ganze Arbeit nur
> dieser einen Frage...Ja, ich tue da
> wahrhaftig, was ich kann:
> Ich schicke seit Juli 42, seit fünfzehn
> Monaten, Werktag wie Sabbat, Menschen
> zu Gott.
>
> ....
>
> Ich tat den Schwur, den alten Herrn so
> masslos, so völlig ohne Mass zu provozieren, dass er Antwort geben musste.
> Sei es auch die negative, die allein,
> wie Stendhal meinte, ihn noch entschuldigen kann:
> dass er nicht existiert.[82]

This petrifying explanation to Riccardo is indicative of an attitude to religion which has long been problematic, and in the Doktor's subsequent scornful remarks it becomes clear that his doubts concerning the existence of God are encouraged, if not caused, by the contradictions he sees within Christianity itself:

> Die Kirche..,die den Mord an Andersdenkenden Jahrhunderte hindurch im Abendlande praktiziert hat, spielt sich als DIE moralische Instanz des Erdteils auf.
>
> ....
>
> Erst Ihre Kirche hat gezeigt, dass man

> die Menschen verheizen kann wie Koks.
> Allein in Spanien habt ihr ohne Krematorien dreihundertfünfzigtausend Menschen eingeäschert, fast alle lebendig: DAZU braucht man - den Beistand Christi.[83]

For the Doktor such an example of human suffering makes the existence of God highly questionable, and he subsequently regards the Christian glorification of pain in the suffering of Jesus as worthless and without substance. Christianity is thus rejected as monstrously frivolous, the Christian concept of the Divinity as a mere philosophical trifle, a result of weak nerves, and the spiritual element in man, the soul, as meaningless and primitive.[84] In an effort to provide a solution to his doubts, or, put in another way, to discover whether or not death is merely the prelude to a higher existence in the direct presence of God, the Doktor accelerates its process in the gas chambers and crematoria of Auschwitz. The Nazi racial extermination programme, being an excellently suitable vehicle for the execution of what the Doktor describes as the boldest experiment ever undertaken,[85] is consequently relegated to the status of a means serving a personal end, whereby it loses its political-ideological characteristics. With the political objectives of National Socialism thus only of secondary importance to the egoistic and cynical Doktor, the latter's feelings towards its leaders, servants and institutions are hardly superlative. Accordingly, Hitler is regarded as a loathsome vegetarian, Himmler as a religious freak who speaks nonsense, the SS colleagues at Auschwitz as brutal idiots, and Auschwitz itself no longer as a centre for curing the racial sickness of the Third Reich, but as material proof that God does not exist, and that the Christian concept of the Creation of man is unacceptable:

> Hören Sie [Riccardo] die Antwort: kein
> Seufzer kam vom Himmel, kein Seufzer,
> seit fünfzehn Monaten, seit ich hier die
> Touristen auf Himmelfahrt verschicke.
> ....
> Wahrhaftig: Schöpfer, Schöpfung und
> Geschöpf SIND widerlegt durch Auschwitz.
> Das Leben als Idee ist tot.[86]

The recognition that the existence of the world cannot be derived from God means that in the Doktor's eyes man is an isolated personality constantly overshadowed by an all-pervading suffering. The Doktor himself, whether or not he brandishes his riding whip on the Auschwitz unloading ramp, is unable to change this, as he explains to Helga:

> Ich schaffe Leben ab
> und schaffe Leben neu -
> und schaffe immer LEIDEN.
> Die einen leiden, weil ich sie ins Gas,
> die andern, weil ich sie ins Leben stosse.[87]

Yet if existence signifies an inescapable suffering in a desolate, Godless world, then death, even when not recognised as such, betokens the only refuge for man and guilt cannot thus be attributed to the destroyer of life, but to its creator:

> Es gibt nach dieser Einsicht nur mehr
> EINE Schuld: Fluch dem, der Leben schafft.
> Ich schaffe Leben ab, das ist die aktuelle
> Humanität, die einzige Rettung vor der
> Zukunft.[88]

In the Doktor's scheme of things the traditional concepts of good and evil have no place, and by releasing suffering humanity from the misery of its empty and pointless reality, he becomes, by a grotesque process of logic, its deliverer. Thus the escape from pain which traditional medical practice had often succeeded in achieving is here transformed into a flight from existence itself as the physician's role of a healer is distorted into that of a destroyer.

The Doktor's conclusions, which for him are manifested in the more physical presence of Auschwitz, explain, besides his obvious cynicism, his materialism. No longer protected by a belief, either religious or political, he turns to pleasures of an earthly, physical nature such as those he may experience with Helga. Even the trivial significance of a noonhour's lovemaking is far greater than a spiritual faith, he informs Riccardo, because it can be grasped and appreciated as something tangible and real:

> Das ist ein Trost, der Ihren Glauben auf-
> wiegt, weil man ihn wirklich "hat", mit
> Herze, Mund und Händen.
> Und hier auf Erden, wo man ihn braucht.[89]

Religious values are insignificant for the Doktor, whose own assiduity has made Auschwitz the apparent ultimate proof of their worthlessness. For him Auschwitz serves as a symbol of the victory of the material over the spiritual in an age in which the values of tyranny have superseded those of humanitarianism. His question to Riccardo - "Was berechtigt PRIESTER, auf die SS herabzusehen. /Wir sind die Dominikaner des technischen Zeitalters" - substantiates both these latter points, and emphasizes once more the apparent absence of God from the process of human existence.[90] Besides his crude materialism the Doktor is also characterized by an obscene interest in the sufferings of his victims, and by an evil egoism. With regard to the former, a reply to Riccardo is astonishing in its cynicism and depravity:

> ....Ich studiere
> zunächst den homo sapiens : gestern sah ich,
> wie einer der Arbeiter im Krematorium
> unter den Leichen, die er zerhacken muss,
> seine Frau entdeckte; WIE reagierte er?[91]

Another example of this type of "study" is the Doktor's experiment to determine whether or not one of the Jewish women prisoners will have sexual relations with him despite the knowledge that he has destroyed her children.[92] This perverse undertaking, which also constitutes an attempt to establish that the Doktor is the supreme authority at Auschwitz[93] is, as in the previous case, a shocking instance of sadistic cruelty which well befits Hochhuth's own description of his character as a phenomenon so completely removed, not only from normal humane people, but also from the SS itself, that he is no longer truly imaginable as a human being.[94]

The function of the physician in Der Stellvertreter constitutes a clear departure from the succession of positive, though only partially successful medical figures examined thus far. Yet on a political-ideological plane the actions of both Hirt and the Doktor may, in the sense of a reversed logic, also be termed positive in that they are intended to produce a therapeutic effect. They correspond, as it were, to the ultimate logical consequence of the National Socialist prescription for racial health, in that they seek out and destroy what in Nazi eyes was a source of corruption and infection endangering the purity of the Aryan race. Thus both figures, but particularly the Doktor, become extreme manifestations of a grotesque medical reversal whereby human society is "aided" by the identification of sickness with certain of its own components, which are subsequently eliminated for the benefit of the "healthy" remainder. At the same time, however, it is only in this connection that the undertakings of both may lay claim to any degree of rationality and validity. Otherwise, and from a normal point of view, Hirt and the Doktor must be regarded as destroyers, for whom the traditional practice of medicine has as little relevance as the lives of the victims who suffer under them. In the case of the Doktor's individual purpose, for which he may conveniently adopt the Nazi racial doctrines, and which creates, according to him, his role of man's deliverer from the pain of an empty and meaningless existence, the practice of medicine is distorted even further. In this instance, where the physician no longer destroys sickness - be it in the traditional, or in the just-described ideological sense - in order to release life from suffering, but prescribes death as the ultimate cure for all humanity, it becomes, in fact, completely negated. The cynical nihilism which exudes from the character of the Doktor in the achievement of his goal serves, however, to reflect much of the visible nature of an age in which the evil of Hitler's regime was allowed to flourish, and in which the hopelessly desolate and futile situation of the individual indicated the apparent absence of transcendental powers in the face of the imminent and temporal horrors of establishments such as Auschwitz. The goal itself, the appalling and demented scheme to challenge God by the systematic destruction of countless human beings in the Auschwitz gas chambers, similarly reflects the total irrationality of the Nazi era, for it is as obscenely ridiculous as it is pointlessly futile. That God does not exist is no more proved by the atrocities of the Doktor, than by the unpunished plasphemy of a minor criminal, or, in fact, by the positivistic demonstrations of a harmless schoolteacher, as Riccardo informs his captor:

> Soviel plumpe Roheit - nur um das zu tun, was jedem harmlosen Schulmeister ohne solchen Aufwand gelingt, wenn er beschränkt genug ist, es zu versuchen: das Unfassbare hinwegbeweisen...[95]

Besides registering the unparalleled absurdity of the Nazi period the Doktor may also be said to incorporate within the dramatic construction of his character all the ingredients which together produced the historical phenomenon of National Socialism and its material symbols of Auschwitz and the other extermination complexes. The inhuman cruelty, the cynical evil and nihilistic destruction, the wicked and intense cumming, the cold mechanistic and brutal methods, the megalomania and principle of individual authoritarian rule, are all condensed into the person of the Auschwitz "Selektierer".[96] Functioning thus as the personification of Nazism itself, the Doktor is portrayed by Hochhuth as a surrealistic, mythical figure without equal in the sphere of existing reality. One of the most diabolical figures to appear in any drama, his role as physician is complex and paradoxical, and it is perhaps in the perverse situation in which the physician relieves suffering by a process of mann-murder that the Doktor's true value for this study is revealed. This ultimate distortion of man's most humanitarian profession remains a conclusive reminder of the horrific corruption and malevolent irrationality of a regime which plunged a highly developed industrial and cultural nation into barbarism.

CHAPTER IV

MALEVOLENCE AND INADEQUACY: THE PHYSICIAN'S ROLE IN GERMAN LITERATURE DEPICTING ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

As an investigation examining the function of the doctor-figure in modern German literature with regard to the corresponding historical development, this study has, in its treatment of the latter, been up to this point predominantly concerned with aspects of the national history of Germany, as opposed to world or even European political, social and economic change.[1] In the literary works to be discussed in this final chapter, however, the type of historical problem reflected is far more universal, and in one category far more intangible as well, than any social development mentioned thus far. The situations mirrored here concern mankind at large and not mainly just one racial group, and they constitute general social phenomena which in the first instance have their origins in the modern expansion of scientific progress, and in the second case in more obscure social processes which have resulted in what might summarily be described as the alienation of the modern individual.

With regard to the former, the progress of atomic research throughout the twentieth century has resulted in the development among other things of sophisticated but totally catastrophic weaponry. The very nature of this modern social problem in which each individual must share regardless of his race, creed or religion, has caused the boundaries of modern national history to dissolve, as is shown in the following words of Jan Knopf, a critic of the Swiss writer Friedrich Dürrenmatt:

> Durch die totale Konfrontation der Supermächte, durch die Atombombe gibt es keine "Geschichte" mehr, keine deutsche, amerikanische, sowjetische, schweizerische (jedenfalls im politisch relevanten Sinn), gibt es keine Vaterländer mehr und keine Völker mehr,..sondern nur noch eine durch die gemeinsame Bedrohung verwobene Menschheit und durch die gemeinsame Bedrohung verwobene Staaten. Aus die totalen Konfrontation ist eine totale Geschichte geworden, Weltgeschichte in einem neuen Sinn.[2]

7

The inherent self-destructiveness of the atomic age has loomed very large in the mind of man ever since the obliteration through the atomic bomb of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the last days of the Second World War. Nowadays, with the political, ideological and military confrontation of East and West, and with the availability of nuclear weapons which would make even the bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki obsolete, the concept of an all-embracing nuclear holocaust is universally particularly prominent in human consciousness, a fact which is especially evident in mass-movements such as the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" in Great Britain, and in the protesting voices of numerous scientists and intellectuals throughout the world.[3] The problematic consequences of atomic research are also reflected in notable modern drama such as Carl Zuckmayer's Das Kalte Licht (1955), in which a refugee nuclear scientist becomes entangled in communist espionage, Heinz Kipphardt's In der Sache J.R. Oppenheimer (1964), in which the theme of the responsibility of the modern nuclear scientist to society at large is taken up, and Friedrich Dürrenmatt's Die Physiker (1962) in which the threat to world security posed by nuclear physics is manifested in the figure of an insane woman psychiatrist, and which, consequently, will be the first literary work to be examined in this chapter.[4]

Die Physiker, a two-act play in which the basic features of classical drama are present, appeared in the midst of a very delicate period, in which the world political situation took on all the symptoms of a full-scale conflict between the two nuclear super-powers of the age, the United States and the Soviet Union.[5] During the early nineteen-sixties three major incidents involving the two countries greatly increased the possibility of catastrophic nuclear war. In 1960 the loss of an American U-2 spy-plane over Soviet territory revealed the intention of the United States to keep the communist power under close surveillance, intensified the Russian mistrust of the West, and wrecked a vital four-power summit conference in Paris. This was followed in August 1961 by the erection by the Russians and the East Germans of the Berlin wall which severed all links between the two halves of the city, and which prompted the mayor of West Berlin to demand of the Americans that they dismantle it by force. Finally, there occurred in the autumn of 1962 the Cuban missile crisis, in which the United

States was prepared, apparently at any cost, to prevent the placement of Soviet rocket sites on the Caribbean island. Throughout this troubled period both super-powers escalated their production of atomic weapons, so that as early as 1963 it could be estimated that the United States had an "overkill capacity" - the means of destroying an opponent more than once - of 241, while the Soviet Union was capable of devastating an enemy 145 times over.[6] Such then was the world political situation when Dürrenmatt's play appeared and began to be performed. It was at once a highly successful work which has since received international acclaim, and it is supplemented by what Dürrenmatt has termed the *21 Punkte zu den Physikern*, which contain some of the playwright's most fundamental ideas, and which are indispensable to a proper understanding of the play.[7]

The setting of the drama is a lunatic asylum run by the hunchbacked spinster, Fräulein Doktor Mathilde von Zahnd. Her patients are the three apparently insane physicists: Ernesti, who calls himself Einstein, Beutler, who imagines he is Sir Isaac Newton; and Möbius, who thinks he has visions of King Solomon. Each of these has murdered, or will murder his nurse, the reason being the same in each case, that none of them are in fact insane, and that their nurses have begun to uncover their true intentions, which are as follows. Möbius, having discovered the ultimate secrets of nuclear physics[8] has confined himself to the asylum in an attempt to disappear from society so that his discovery with its potentially disastrous consequences might never be exploited. Ernesti and Beutler, however, are two agents employed by opposing great powers who have learned of the existence of Möbius' secret together with his whereabouts. Assuming the roles of madmen, they have entered the asylum in order to gain possession of Möbius' knowledge. After all three physicists (Ernesti and Beutler are also in reality two nuclear scientists whose real names are Eisler and Kilton respectively) have confronted each other and revealed their true identities, they agree that the secrets which Möbius has uncovered constitute too great a danger for mankind, and they subsequently announce their intention to remain in their adopted roles of lunatics in order to safeguard them. At this point Dürrenmatt introduces a final ironic twist. Fräulein von Zahnd asserts that she has visions of King Solomon, has long since been aware of the true mental state and identity of her patients, has copied Möbius' manuscripts, has planned that the physicists would murder their nurses, thereby entrapping them even deeper in her grasp, and now, having achieved all this, has the world at her mercy through the exploitation of Möbius' discovery. The play then ends with each of the physicists reverting to his original imaginary role and disappearing to his room at the asylum.

Thus the theme of the criminal doctor, which appeared so blatantly in Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, is continued here in the person of Fräulein von Zahnd, who first appears shortly after the murder of the second nurse. With almost her first word she describes herself as a hopelessly romantic philanthropist,[9] but an ensuing remark concerning the identity of her patients made to the police officer investigating the nurse's death - "Für wen sich meine Patienten halten, bestimme ich"[10] - may be said to cause some speculation already as to her real role in the drama. Furthermore, although initially there is much to suggest that Fräulein von Zahnd is a normal psychiatrist with true concern for her patients,[11] there are occasions, well before her final revelation, when the "illusion" suffered by Möbius seems to involve her directly. To the missionary Rose, who has married Möbius' former wife, and who assesses the physicist's visions of King Solomon as a sad, regretful confusion, she reacts in an irritated and reproachful manner: "Ihr strammes Urteil erstaunt mich ein wenig, Herr Missionar Rose. Als Theologe müssen Sie doch immerhin mit der Möglichkeit eines Wunders rechnen."[12] The fact that in this instance the vision of Solomon appears to play a positive role in the doctor's activities is detected by Christian Jauslin, who sees such a view reinforced by Fräulein von Zahnd's later reaction to Möbius' explanation of the murder of his nurse:[13]

> Möbius. König Salomo befahl es.
> Frl. Doktor. Der König Salomo.
> (Sie setzt sich wieder. Schwerfällig. Bleich)
> Seine Majestät ordnete den Mord an.[14]

Elsewhere, the impression that Fräulein von Zahnd is not as normal as at first might seem is possibly created by her words to the police inspector concerning the age of her family and her own spiritual condition,[15] and by a remark made by Möbius' nurse to the latter shortly before her murder: "Sie selbst [Fräulein von Zahnd] sei verrückter als Sie, erklärte sie und lachte."[16]

In the second act of the drama the true nature of Fräulein Doktor von Zahnd is revealed. Accompanied by black-clad attendants wearing caps and armed with pistols, she discloses the extent of her insanity:

> Auch mir ist der goldene König Salomo erschienen.
> ....
> Er befahl mir, Möbius abzusetzen und an seiner Stelle zu herrschen. Ich gehorchte dem Befehl. Ich war Ärztin und Möbius mein Patient. Ich konnte mit ihm tun, was ich wollte. Ich betäubte ihn, jahrelang, immer wieder, und photokopierte die Aufzeichnungen des goldenen Königs, bis ich auch die letzten Seiten besass.[17]

In her insanity, however, the hunchbacked psychiatrist exhibits a ruthless and deep cunning, which is clear in her explanations to Möbius and to the three physicists as a group:

> Sie sind machtlos, Möbius. Auch wenn Ihre Stimme in die Welt hinausdränge, würde man Ihnen nicht glauben. Denn für die Öffentlichkeit sind Sie nichts anderes als ein gefährlicher Verrückter. Durch Ihren Mord.
> ....
> Ich musste euch unschädlich machen. Durch eure Morde. Ich hetzte die drei Krankenschwestern auf euch. Mit eurem Handeln konnte ich rechnen. Ihr waret bestimmbar wie Automaten und habt getötet wie Henker.[18]

Thus despite Jan Knopf's statement to the contrary, the murders of the three nurses are extremely significant in that they form an integral part of Fräulein von Zahnd's plan for eventual world domination.[19] In triumphant terms she describes how this is to be achieved by the exploitation of Möbius' dangerous discovery:

> Ich beutete zuerst nur wenige Erfindungen
> aus, das nötige Kapital anzusammeln.
> Dann gründete ich Riesenwerke, erstand
> eine Fabrik um die andere und baute einen
> mächtigen Trust auf.
> ....
> Mein Trust wird herrschen, die Länder,
> die Kontinente erobern, das Sonnensystem
> ausbeuten, nach dem Andromedanebel fahren.
> Die Rechnung ist aufgegangen. Nicht zu
> Gunsten der Welt, aber zu Gunsten einer
> alten, buckligen Jungfrau.[20]

Such then, is the position of the doctor-figure at the close of Dürrenmatt's drama. Fräulein von Zahnd, an insane, evil and megalomanic character, may hold the world to ransom, and succeed in it, because the tremendous power of the ultimate nuclear discovery lies solely within her grasp. It remains now to uncover the essential details of this functional situation.

In the view of Kurt J. Fickert the mad psychiatrist of Die Physiker represents up to a point "that anathema to true justice embodied in so many of the dramatic personae in Dürrenmatt."[21] This quality is seen by him to exist even in the Fräulein Doktor's name, which refers to "teeth", which in turn are linked biblically to the concept of justice.[22] When linked with the notion of retribution, however, the "just" quality of the hunchback spinster may in one paradoxical way be said to assume a more positive form. In points

17 and 18 of his postscript to the play Dürrenmatt writes that a problem that concerns all may only be solved by all, and that any attempt by an individual to intervene, must fail.[23] In point 16 he has the following to say: "Der Inhalt der Physik geht die Physiker an, die Auswirkung alle Menschen."[24] By attempting unilaterally to eliminate the dilemma which his nuclear researches have caused for all of mankind, Möbius has transgressed these ideas and has thus betrayed his true obligation, which implies nothing less than the transformation of individual into collective responsibility for the consequences of his discovery. Instead, Möbius has attempted to bury his fateful knowledge under the guise of madness, and thus must suffer the retributive consequences of his error. The nature of this failure is best illuminated in the words of the Fräulein Doktor when speaking of his secret: "Denn was ihm offenbart worden war, ist kein Geheimnis. Weil es denkbar ist. Alles Denkbare wird einmal gedacht. Jetzt oder in der Zukunft."[25] Because a monopoly of knowledge can only exist temporarily, private discoveries of potentially universal significance are ultimately the property of all, and thus no individual has the power, let alone the moral right, to keep them to himself. To attempt to do this will incur disaster. As the agent transforming this warning into reality, however, Fräulein von Zahnd, with the successful silencing (by virtue of their own murderous acts) of the three physicists, has herself come into sole possession of a world-embracing discovery, thereby turning

her own appraisal of Möbius' situation into paradox. The type of power she may exercise through it is initially indicated by the various portraits which hang in the drawing room of the asylum. These, paintings of the Fräulein Doktor's ancestors, show a politician, a business magnate and a general, and reveal the three facets - the political, the economic and the military - which together make up the absolute authority that she has at her disposal. Further indications of the nature of the latter are provided by the Nazi-style innuendo and black-garbed, armed and capped appearance of the asylum's new warders, and by the new iron bars which cover its windows. In Theaterprobleme Dürrenmatt describes the phenomenon of modern authority as being visible only to the most limited extent, because like an iceberg the largest part is immersed in anonymity and abstraction.[26] To the millions who will now be subjected to the insane spinster's rule, all that will be seen of the ruling power will be the lower officials of the countless subdivisions contained within the intricate hierarchy of her vast cartel, so that, like an iceberg, only a very small fraction of the whole will remain readily approachable. Besides incorporating the essence of modern authority within her person, Fräulein von Zahnd also personifies what for Dürrenmatt constitutes a fundamental intervening force in human existence, the force of chance. In point 9 of 21 Punkte zu den Physikern he describes how and when chance may affect man:

> Planmässig vorgehende Menschen wollen
> ein bestimmtes Ziel erreichen. Der

> Zufall trifft sie dann am schlimmsten, wenn sie durch ihn das Gegenteil ihres Ziels erreichen: Das, was sie befürchteten, was sie zu vermeiden suchen.[27]

Here chance is assessed as an agent which may destroy even the most carefully calculated plans that man might make, so that man, having ultimately no more control over his actions than a puppet-figure, than an "Automat", is continually subject to inexplicable and often malign forces which can divert and redirect his path. Fräulein von Zahnd, whose intervention completely thwarts the ingenious and wholly self-sacrificial intentions of Möbius, transforming them into absurdity, as the physicist's return to madness at the end of the drama emphasizes, fulfils this role absolutely.[28]

The most immediate impression created by the Fräulein Doktor is, however, by virtue of her stunted physical appearance and her insane claim that her accomplishment had been sanctioned and commissioned by King Solomon, that of the grotesque. For Jauslin she is similar in this sense to the figure of Claire Zachanassian in Dürrenmatt's earlier play Der Besuch der alten Dame (1956), and becomes a non-earthly being able to determine both the welfare and the suffering of mankind.[29] As a non-earthly being she subsequently becomes for the same critic a world-governing principle and an incarnation of evil which is linked to absolute power[30] - all of which is trongly reminiscient of Hochhuth's description of the notorious Doktor in Der Stellvertreter. While, on the one hand, there is certainly much that distinguishes the latter from Dürrenmatt's character, a degree of similarity does exist, if Jauslin is correct, in the manner in which the two figures are employed by their creators. Assuming that Jauslin's description of Fräulein von Zahnd is valid, then, like the Doktor, she appears as a mythical personage who, while not belonging to the tangible, comprehensible world, symbolizes within it the abstract and inconceivable forces which seemingly dominate it. In Theaterprobleme Dürrenmatt defines the purpose of dramatic writing as transforming everything into the immediate, the visible, and the sensual with the stipulation that not everything allows itself to be transformed in such a manner.[31] In other words, reality is to be brought before the audience in its most immediate visible form, with the reservation that this might not always be possible, for, as is elsewhere indicated in Theaterprobleme, and in 21 Punkte zu den Physikern, reality appears for the writer as a malevolent puzzle and paradox.[32] In order to impress this upon his audience, Dürrenmatt uses the device of figures such as the Fräulein Doktor, in whom the characteristics of his negative world-perception are crystallized. She, the mentor of the psychologically sick, who is herself insane, yet who has achieved world domination, symbolizes the paradoxical nature of reality. She constitutes the invisibility of fateful chance which may upset even the most meticulous plan. She incorporates the "monstrous" aspect - "die Welt als ein Ungeheures"; "das Schreckliche hinter den Kulissen"[33] - of modern existence, which is indicated both by her brutal malevolence, as well as by her abnormal stunted physical growth. In this depiction of Fräulein von Zahnd the element of the grotesque is extremely significant, for it forms the readily perceptible means of transforming into the visible that which Dürrenmatt may detect in the invisible.[34] Put in another way, as the incarnation of inexplicable threatening forces which continually jeopardize all human activity, she appears essentially as a mythical figure, but the essence of this quality, the form in which it itself emerges, is the grotesque. In conclusion she is, in her grotesqueness, the vehicle by which Dürrenmatt brings his problematic concept of reality into the consciousness of his readers.

Die Physiker exhibits the employment of an excellent topical means - the highly critical period of the nuclear age in the late 1950's and the early 1960's - by which to present the precarious situation in which man exists. In it the problem of the responsibility of the nuclear physicist appears as a typical human dilemma for which not man himself, but the impermeable powers to which he is seemingly subject, will have the final say. The play is a good example of what Dürrenmatt feels the modern human situation to be, but an even more striking delineation of this is given in his earlier work Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi (1952), in which the physician, far from incorporating those incomprehensible elements which turn all human endeavour to absurdity, is himself reduced to farcicality by forces he cannot really understand.

Before discussing this play, however, it seems useful to examine in more open terms what it might be that writers such as Dürrenmatt appear to experience when considering modern existence.

The enigmatic, dissatisfying nature of modern society is a common theme among contemporary critics and men of letters. Thus the opaque nature of human existence exposed by Dürrenmatt is also valid, for example, for Erich Franzen for whom the force-field surrounding man today is only identifiable as an abstract image, which may be seen as a consequence of the multi-dimensional and simultaneously atomized world in which man exists, and of the fact that man has replaced his natural environment with a technically constructed one.[35] Leo Kofler, describing what for him are the causes of what he terms the enormous malaise of modern consciousness, has a similar view:

> Mit der grundlegenden Veränderung des Lebens als Folge der fortschreitenden Industrialisierung, spezialistischen Mechanisierung und Vermassung wird die Lebenssituation des einzelnen Individuums immer undurchsichtiger. Das Schicksal erscheint zunehmend als eine gleichsam mystische Gewalt, als etwas mehr oder weniger Unbeeinflussbares und "Übermenschliches". Das Einzelschicksal scheint gegenüber dieser neuen und unheimlichen Gewalt an Bedeutung zu verlieren. Es bleibt nur so weit interessant, als es zum wichtigsten Darstellungsmittel des allgemeinen und bedrohlichen Schicksals wird.[36]

In Dürrenmatt's Friedrich Schiller these ideas find in turn a highly similar echo:

> Die Welt hat sich nicht so sehr durch ihre politischen Revolutionen verändert, ...sondern durch die Explosion der Menschheit ins Milliardenhafte, durch die notwendige Aufrichtung der Maschinenwelt, durch die zwangsläufige Verwandlung der Vaterländer in Staaten, der Völker in Massen, der Vaterlandsliebe in eine Treue der Firma gegenüber. Der alte Glaubensatz der Revolutionäre, dass der Mensch die Welt verändern müsse und könne, ist für den einzelnen unrealisierbar geworden... Für den einzelnen bleibt die Ohnmacht, das Gefühl, übergangen zu werden, nicht mehr einschreiten, mitbestimmen zu können, untertauchen zu müssen, um nicht unterzugehen...[37]

Elsewhere, Benno von Wiese speaks of the isolation of the individual, a process which, with the simultaneous mechanical organisation of the masses, has been forced to the point where no communication between one and another exists,[38] and for Hans-Joachim Schrimpf the individual destiny in the modern world, whether wittingly or not, is determined by external factors and restricted, with the result that its isolation must unavoidably lead to illusionary self-deception.[39]

To state that the problems of society originate from the technical industrialisation and impenetrable anonymity of the modern world-system is, however, only generally definitive. What can such comments as those given above be really taken to mean?[40] One cause for modern dissatisfaction and insecurity could lie in the phenomenon of modern labour, in which the individual worker very often is not in a position to appreciate the end product of his labours, so that, as Günther Anders puts it, action has become merely another form of passivity.[41] It might also be said that man nowadays has been instrumental in creating an environment which has assumed characteristics that can no longer be understood or controlled by the individual. Such a situation would result in the increasing reliance of the individual upon specialized knowledge and techniques in order to proceed with the affairs of daily life, and hence in the discomforting thought that ever-increasing gaps would appear in his knowledge of his environment. Another reason for discomfort might be found in the modern bureaucratic process whereby the power of responsibility and the right to make decisions is not only taken from the individual, but carried out at a level far beyond him by an invisible authority for whom he is seemingly merely a digit in a computer index. However the problem is pinpointed, it is clear that it is neither superficial, nor is it in a total sense readily definable. Moreover, it is not at all clear that the average individual constantly focuses on it in his thoughts. To a large extent, to state that modern man's difficulties stem from the fact that he has no basic framework of understanding with which to cope with the intricate totality of the modern world remains the problem of a deeper-seeing minority, in which literary men, with whose works this investigation is primarily concerned, play an important role.[42] The effect in literary works of such an awareness as has just been described has already been seen in the unfortunate situation of Möbius in Die Physiker. For Kofler the type of helpless situation in which this character finds himself would appear to be the result of a lost sense of totality in modern life, which the creative writer himself, in this case Dürrenmatt, experiences, and which he acknowledges in the construction of the impenetrable threatening backdrop to the futile actions of his characters: "Die Totalität als der eigentliche geschichtliche und existentielle Seinsgrund des Menschen verschwindet selbstverständlich nicht ganz aus dem Denken des Künstlers, sondern wird...umgebildet zum unheimlichen und schicksalhaften Hintergrund, der...seine im letzten unverständliche und irrational-bedrohliche Selbständigkeit bewahrt."[43] For Franzen the loss of a unified outlook upon life, which would be the result of an absence of totality in human existence, would, in the case of drama, destroy the unity of the dramatic action:

> Durch den Verlust eines einheitlichen Weltgefühls, das sich auf den Glauben an eine metaphysische Weltordnung oder an den Hegelschen Weltgeist gründete, wird auch die Einheit der dramatischen Handlung zerstört. Sie stützte sich auf die Erfahrung einer Totalität der Existenz, in der das Gegeneinander feindlicher Kräfte zu einem sinnvollen Ganzen zusammenwuchs. Der Weg zu dieser Erfahrung ist uns heute verschlossen. Die Kräfte, die auf uns einwirken, sind isolierte Grössen, die höchstens noch in einer mathematischen Formel, aber nicht im Gleichnis einer geschlossenen Bühnenhandlung vereinigt werden können. Damit sind die Grundfesten des Dramas erschüttert. Statt des Wiederstreits absoluter Mächte, die im Konflikt handelnder Figuren sichtbar werden und einer tragischen Lösung zustreben, kann der Dramatiker unserer Zeit gleichsam nur die Negation einer Handlung geben. Die Menschen, die er darstellt, stehen

> beziehungslos nebeneinander. Sie reden aneinander vorbei oder halten lange, abstruse Monologe.[44]

In Dürrenmatt's play Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi the issues raised by both Kofler and Franzen are readily apparent.[45] One of its major underlying themes is the solitary and futile existence of an individual whose every attempt to establish a meaningful pattern in his life results in ridiculous absurdity. Its action is partly set in a world of chaos and revolution, and is dominated by five major characters who each represent certain values and philosophies - Mississippi himself, who is a strict moralist and advocate, and, as State Prosecutor, an executor of the Law of Moses; Anastasia who, as a representative of material-sensual values, is modelled neither on Heavenly nor on Hellish values, but solely on the world itself;[46] Saint-Claude, an ardent communist revolutionary idealist; Diego, an unscrupulous power-seeker; and Graf Bodo von Übelohe-Zabernsee, a Christian idealist and physician and the subject-figure of the forthcoming analysis.

As in Die Physiker the unity of place is preserved in the play, all the events occurring in one room, the geographical location of which remains undetermined.[47] The plot of the drama is, however, exceedingly complicated, beginning, for example, with the death of Saint-Claude at the hands of hard-line communist assassins, and then with his resurrection and subsequent intervention in the action. Anastasia, having poisoned her husband, is confronted by Mississippi, who has poisoned his wife, and forced to marry him in order that both might receive absolution for their deeds. In both instances the poison had unwittingly been supplied by the physician Übelohe, who, fearing the consequences of his involvement in the murders, had fled to the jungles of Borneo. Throughout the next five years the marriage of Anastasia and Mississippi proceeds, with Anastasia performing social work in the state prisons and Mississippi sending 350 criminals to their executions in his role as State Prosecutor and advocate of the Law of Moses. At this stage, the government, embarrassed by Mississippi's activities, demands that he step down from his office, which he refuses to do. Following this scene Saint-Claude appears and asks Mississippi, a long-time friend of his, for his help in organizing a communist revolution. Mississippi again refuses and Saint-Claude sets out to achieve his aims alone. Übelohe now enters the action, having returned from the tropics and expecting to find Anastasia, whom he loves, in prison for the murder of her first husband. Instead he discovers that she is now married to Mississippi, but she is also intriguing with Diego, the justice minister, to become free of her husband, while Diego is planning to use Saint-Claude's revolution as a means to secure power for himself. In the second part of the play Diego, with the suppression of the proletarian uprising, accomplishes his objectives and has Mississippi placed in a lunatic asylum. Saint-Claude, now a fugitive, attempts to force Anastasia to flee with him in order to set up a brothel to finance a new revolution, and Anastasia, seeking to avoid this, unsuccessfully tries to poison him. In the final sequence of events Mississippi escapes from the asylum and poisons Anastasia before he himself suffers the same fate after drinking from the cup intended for Saint-Claude. Saint-Claude then re-enacts the scene of his own death, and the play closes with a complete departure from the foregoing plot; namely with the figure of Übelohe, who, in the garb of Don Quixote, stands in the shadow of a huge windmill and offers defiance to the incomprehensible powers which reduce all man's efforts to a ridiculous farce.

Although he does not appear in the action of the play until just over halfway through its final part, Übelohe is mentioned in Saint-Claude's opening speech and is seen staggering by the window of the room where everything takes place, waving a blue flag.[48] Appearing before Anastasia, he admits that he has become quite short-sighted, and on one occasion he addresses her while staring at the plaster statue at the right of the room.[49] He wears a pair of blue spectacles, but when he drops them on the floor, he clearly observes the sight of Anastasia and Diego in a firm embrace.[50] His reeling appearance and his problematic vision may already indicate the real nature of his activities in the play, but in his introductory speech he states clearly what his role is supposed to be. In creating the figure of Übelohe, the latter declares, Dürrenmatt is concerned to see whether or not the world could be changed or improved, and to determine whether or not God is eternally present in man's finite existence:

> So schuf er denn auch mich, den Grafen Bodo von Übelohe-Zabernsee, den einzigen, den er mit ganzer Leidenschaft liebte, weil ich allein in diesem Stück das Abenteuer der Liebe auf mich nehme, dieses erhabene Unternehmen, das zu bestehen oder in dem zu unterliegen die grösste Würde des Menschen ausmacht:..so entwürdigte er mich,..um mich nicht als Sieger, sondern als Besiegten...in den Tiegel seiner Komödie zu werfen: Dies allein nur, um zu sehen, ob denn wirklich Gottes Gnade in dieser endlichen Schöpfung unendlich sei, unsere einzige Hoffnung.[51]

An analysis of the achievements of the short-sighted Count reveals that his admission that he is not a victor in the struggle of life is quite accurate. He had given up or otherwise lost his extensive possessions in his flight from a charge that never existed;[52] he had attempted among headhunters and Malayans to atone for Anastasia's guilt when she remained untouched by the law;[53] he had wanted to serve mankind and found himself reduced to a beggar;[54] he had wanted to introduce modern medicine to the jungle, but discovered that the primitive methods of cure were better;[55] he had wanted to heal and then became sick himself;[56] he had wanted to emulate the deeds of great Christians, but saw his efforts turn into a farce.[57] With his memory and vision impaired by the diseases he had contracted in the tropics,[58] a sense of orientation which is no longer sound,[59] and an inclination towards alcoholism,[60] Übelohe, in his torn, frayed clothes and his worn-out shoes, is a thoroughly pitiful figure.[61] Everything he had undertaken has been, as he acknowledges, laughable,[62] and when, during his opening speech, he admits that his appearance, like his own grotesque life, is ridiculous, one may, in retrospect, agree with him.[63]

According to his own testimony Übelohe is a Christian idealist. Christian connections in fact go back a long way for him, whose ancestors had fought in the crusades,[64] and "das Abenteuer der Liebe" that he takes upon himself, as he informs the audience in his opening speech,[65] is to be understood in a Christian sense, which becomes clear in his later conversation with Mississippi:

Mississippi	Darf ich fragen, weshalb Sie Schloss Zabernsee verlassen haben, um in eine für Sie unbekannte Welt hinauszuziehen?
Übelohe	Mich jammerte der Menschen.
Mississippi	Sie liebten sie alle?
Übelohe	Alle.
Mississippi	In ihrem Schmutz, in ihrer Gier?
Übelohe	In allen ihren Sünden.
Mississippi	Sie sind ein Christ?
Übelohe	Ich bin ein Christ.[66]

It is subsequently from a Christian point of view that Übelohe attacks Mississippi's concept of love, which is based upon the idea of possession and which lacks any notion of charity, as in the case of Anastasia:

> Was liebst du ein Weib um seiner Werke willen? Weisst du nicht, dass die Menschenwerke lügen? Wie kleingläubig ist deine Liebe, wie blind ist dein Gesetz, denn sieh, ich liebe diese Frau nicht als eine Gerechte, ich liebe sie als eine Unglückliche. Nicht als eine Gefundene, sondern als eine Verlorene.[67]

Yet despite its Christian sentiments, Übelohe's love for Anastasia is adulterous, and, as Gerwin Marahrens states, he has already broken the sacrament of marriage through a previous affair with her.[68] His love for her, which, as he informs Mississippi, is all that remains of his love for humanity,[69] continues right up until his departure from her even after she has recanted her love for him in the presence of her husband. It constitutes, however, in the words of the above-mentioned critic, "a parody of the Christian man's relationship to the world,"[70] for none of the descriptions that Übelohe attributes to Anastasia befit her, and she is, as the worldly Diego reveals, a treacherous destructive force which exists only in the present, conforms to no design, and remains ultimately incomprehensible.[71] Although he continues to love Anastasia until the end, Übelohe's faith in her - the hope that her soul is not lost[72] is, however, destroyed by her final betrayal. All that remains for him is, as he admits, his own love, which is the love of a fool[73] and which, because of his complete misrepresentation of Anastasia - his attention to the plaster statue when he thinks he is looking at her is a physical example of this[74] - is itself ridiculous, as he himself had previously mentioned.[75] Übelohe's Christian charity is thus reduced from a universal love for suffering mankind to a specific love for a woman whom he deems "unglücklich" and verloren",[76] and finally to an empty and hollow idea no longer capable of sustaining a human relationship in the Christian sense.[77]

Related to Übelohe's concept of Christian charity is his ideal of truth. He informs Anastasia that he has always been especially particular in the matter of truth,[78] and he wants to reveal to Mississippi the details of his earlier affair with her.[79] For Übelohe truth represents a principle that may bring salvation in what he terms a collapsing world of sin,[80] but in the one instance in which for him the light of truth may be revealed - the confrontation of himself, Anastasia and Mississippi - he is, as already noted, forced yet again to experience bitter disappointment. His final appearance in quixotic form at the close of the play is a fitting summary both of all that he has experienced at the hands of the world, and of his spirit in perservering with what must many times have appeared as a hopeless task. A ridiculous figure, he nevertheless shouts defiance at the irrational powers which turn goodness and benevolence into absurdity, but at the same time allow unscrupulous power-seekers such as Diego to enjoy success, and he seems to reflect a decision not to acquiesce in the grotesque and inconsistent nature of a reality in which Mississippi and Saint-Claude, and Diego too for that matter, are examples of constantly occurring ruthless and conscienceless forms.

In a play bound up with ideological concepts in which the only satisfied character appears to be the realistic materialist Diego, Übelohe's Christian idealism, even with his defiance at the end of the drama, is not a positive, convincing force. It is, as Herbert Madler points out, not entirely voluntary nor without reservation, for it has its origins in an attempt to expiate his involvement in the death of Anastasia's first husband.[81] Moreover, from Übelohe's love for Anastasia there arises the impression, as the same critic maintains, that she is regarded as the last opportunity to make something of a life which has otherwise always experienced failure.[82] In these instances Übelohe's Christian charity, whether towards mankind in general, or towards Anastasia in the manner the Count describes to Mississippi, appears in a very dubious light, while for Gerwin Marahrens the negative, paradoxical and grotesque factors of the Count's character make it seem feeble and ineffectual.[83] A more positive opinion of Übelohe is that of Wilfried Berghahn, who writes: "Er [Übelohe] allein darf Mensch sein unter den Marionetten, die um das Weib Welt tanzen. Ihm allein schenkte der Autor ein Herz, das hoffen und zerbrechen kann."[84] Josef Scherer's assessment of him stresses a further unique role: "Graf Bodo vermag als einziger mitten in dieser zusammenbrechenden Welt den Glauben an die Liebe hochzuhalten."[85] For Madler, however, Übelohe is too naive a character and an unrealistic dreamer who is ruined less by his love for man than by his passion for Anastasia.[86] In the opinion of Jauslin the Count appears as a fool who desires to cling to an idea which has lost its meaning,[87] and a negative view of Übelohe is also the choice of Marahrens, who ponders whether Übelohe is really justified in regarding himself as the antagonist of the other major characters, and in assuming the role of Don Quixote. The critic concludes that this is an illegitimate self-glorification, and that Übelohe's final action in the play is hardly convincing.[88]

The most obvious function which Übelohe fulfils in the play arises from his introductory speech, an occasion when, acting as the direct vehicle of the playwright, he provides essential information pertinent to the purpose and sense of the drama, as well as critically describing his creator, and reciting for the benefit of the audience what are in reality stage instructions concerning the area of the play's action.[89] At a deeper level his role in the play reflects the questions he himself raises when speaking here on Dürrenmatt's behalf. More than any other character in the drama Übelohe is exposed to the hopeless absurdity of human existence, and, ruined by his misfortunes, illnesses and alcoholism, he appears, as he himself admits, ridiculous. Yet despite the hopelessness of his life, he still attempts to withstand the reality which has brought him down, and at the very end of the play he plunges defiantly "In den flammenden Abgrund der Unendlichkeit / Eine ewige Komödie / Dass aufleuchte Seine Herrlichkeit / genährt durch unsere Ohnmacht."[90] With this act Dürrenmatt wishes to portray Übelohe as a courageous individual, a type of figure dear to the playwright, who may achieve within himself the restoration of a lost world-order, even though improvement of the external, real world remains impossible.[91]

Yet while the short-sighted Count, according to the discussion immediately above, appears clearly distinguishable from the other characters of Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi, he is also to a great extent a similar figure to the protagonists Mississippi and Saint-Claude. In this respect his appearance as a quixotic character is much more striking than his identification with Dürrenmatt's concept of the courageous individual. For Ulrich Profitlich, quixotic characters, for this role is not exclusive to Übelohe alone, make the fatal mistakes of misjudging a given situation, and of overestimating their limited opportunities for action, so that the misunderstanding of their weakness is even more unfortunate than the weakness itself. Thus, believing they are able to achieve that which lies beyond their capabilities, these expressly ridiculous, foolish or quixotic figures enter a situation which has been hopeless from the outset.[92] What Profitlich describes is valid for both Mississippi and Saint-Claude, as well as for Übelohe, which is a point supported by Jauslin, who writes: "Wie Don Quichotte an einem längst überlebten Rittertum festhielt, so versucht hier jeder eine bestimmte Idee zu retten und wieder einzuführen."[93] In trying to introduce their ideas to the world, Übelohe, Mississippi and Saint-Claude may, like the physicist Möbius in Die Physiker, only achieve the opposite of their intentions, and all, again like Möbius, suffer from the intervention of chance, which here is not constituted by one of the characters, as in the play discussed earlier, but by the trio's contact with that character (Anastasia). With respect to this, point 18 of 21 Punkte zu den Physikern - "Jeder Versuch eines Einzelnen, für sich zu lösen, was alle angeht, muss scheitern"[94] - is clearly applicable to all three protagonists of the 1952 play, as is Diego's warning to Mississippi in this same work: "Die Welt ist schlecht, aber nicht hoffnungslos, dies wird sie nur, wenn ein absoluter Masstab an sie gerichtet wird."[95] The ideas which Übelohe, Mississippi and Saint-Claude uphold all reflect individual attempts partly to change the world, partly to save it, and may only be realized through bold vigour, raging fury and an inexhaustible avidity for perfection.[96] Because they are universally significant, yet are deployed by the individual, and because of their elevation to absolute principles for the same, the Christianity of Übelohe, the Mosaic justice of Mississippi, and the communist utopianism of Saint-Claude are all doomed to failure.

Despite the fact that he does not appear to relinquish his struggle against the circumstances which have continually made his life ridiculous, it remains entirely inconclusive, and even dubious, whether Übelohe preserves within his person the lost world harmony, as Dürrenmatt describes.[97] Because the motivations for his actions seem predominantly to reflect a need to atone and a clinging passion for Anastasia, rather than a spontaneous and fundamental charitable conviction, his Christian idealism does not appear to provide a secure and unblemished basis for this, for which reason too, Scherer's description of the Count must appear doubtful.[98] The key to the significance of Übelohe's function in the drama lies in his more or less permanent condition of ridiculousness and futility. This situation is emphasized from Saint-Claude's opening description of his activities in Borneo, to Übelohe's own explanatory statements and his later rejection by Anastasia, and finally to his defiant, yet hollow and partly invalid gesture at the close of the play. In Übelohe, the tarnished Christian, the ruined aristocrat, the drunken physician, the failed lover, and, in the last scene of the action, the self-styled opponent of an enemy in whose ranks much of his own character appears, Dürrenmatt exposes in a particularly striking fashion the fallibility and absurdity of all human endeavour. In a direct confrontation with the audience Übelohe raises questions concerning the nature of human existence, and through his own ridiculous predicament he also supplies the answers. The world cannot be reformed or improved by man's intervention, and nowhere is there a trace of Divine Grace to which man can turn for inspiration. Instead, human existence, as is well exemplified by the unfortunate career of the aristocratic physician, is a continual reminder of man's impotent helplessness. A play which portrays in a much more immediate sense than Die Physiker the futility of human action, Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi also draws heavily on the latter for recognition of its meaning. The interference of chance and the destined failure of absolute, unilateral undertaking, themes which Dürrenmatt took pains to stress in the 1962 work, are also present in the earlier drama, where their effect is registered primarily on the figure of the physician. The situation of this character is thereby reversed, for whereas in the person of Fräulein von Zahnd, Dürrenmatt presents the menace which chance and other impermeable factors hold for mankind, in Graf Bodo von Übelohe-Zabernsee he reveals the hopeless situation of the individual forced to live a life in the presence of these same threatening powers.

Whereas in the above discussion the physician has been revealed both as the agent and as the victim of the dilemmas which writers such as Dürrenmatt detect confronting the modern individual, in the following analysis the medical man is seen to represent an approach to reality which at first glance betrays none of the symptoms of problematic modern existence which Dürrenmatt and others have described. In Günter Grass' novel _örtlich betäubt_ (1969) the worries and anxieties of modern living are on the face of it solely the problem of the medical patient, while the physician, in this case a dentist, seems to be able to pursue a totally superior, carefree and successful style of life.[100]

örtlich betäubt, Grass' fourth novel, differs considerably in style and form from the Danzig-trilogy of _Die Blechtrommel_, _Katz und Maus_ and _Hundejahre_. Set in West Berlin in the winter of 1967, its rather meagre plot is divided into three sections in which the protagonist Eberhard Starusch, a secondary school teacher of history and German, undergoes a series of dental treatments to correct a protruding lower jaw and intervenes to prevent the cremation of a pupil's pet dog, an act intended as a means of bringing the horrific napalm-bombing of Vietnam more fully into public consciousness. In the first part of the novel which covers the preliminary and intermediate stages of Starusch's treatment, the latter recalls vivid incidents out of his past which are re-enacted upon the screen of the dental surgery's television set, while the dentist provides detailed information of the historical development of dentistry and of the latest dental equipment. In the second section the plot mainly concerns the interaction between Starusch and his pupil Scherbaum, whose dog Max is due to be set on fire before a crowded Berlin café. The dentist remains very much in evidence, however, as Starusch frequently consults him for advice through telephone calls. In the final part of the work Starusch's dental treatments are continued, and Scherbaum, having abandoned his plan, has the dentist correct his abnormal distal bite. The novel closes with the intricate work on Starusch's jaw having to be destroyed, and with the laconic statement concerning the perenniality of pain: "Nichts hält vor. Immer neue Schmerzen."[101] Augmenting the scant action of the work - Starusch, for example, spends half the novel in the dentist's chair[102] - is its background of violence and pain which is exemplified by Scherbaum's intended undertaking and the napalm horrors of Vietnam he wishes to expose, the frenzies Starusch evokes during his imaginary trips into his past as he sits in the dentist's chair, the visions of victims burnt at the stake with which Starusch hopes to dissuade Scherbaum, and the accounts of agonizing past methods of tooth extraction supplied by the dentist and Starusch's pupils.

Starusch, a forty-year old bachelor schoolmaster with a congenital malocclusion, is dogged by a continually returning sense of having failed throughout his life, and upon the screen of the dentist's television set, which is meant to distract the latter's patients from the minor unpleasantness of modern dental treatment, he relives the situations of his earlier life in order to change them to his own satisfaction and thereby eliminate the pain of the present. In the fantasies he re-enacts whole fictitious episodes with fictitious characters, which end several times in violence and death, but he is never able to conceal the fact of his failings either from himself, the other characters in the novel, or from the reader.[103] His main weakness lies in his inability to accomplish what he begins, and, reading through some magazines on one occasion while waiting for the dentist's anaesthetic to take effect, he arrives at a model of his own inadequacy:

> Abgewiesene Zukurzegekommene Versager. Überall hocken sie und lauern auf Rache. Sie erfinden sich Feinde und Geschichten, in denen ihre erfundenen Feinde tatsächlich vorkommen und liquidiert werden... Sie variieren den Tod immer des gleichen Widersachers. Sie bemalen ihre Rasierspiegel mit dem Wort Revolution.[104]

What appears to trouble Starusch most in his past life is a failed engagement to a girl he apparently refashions as a certain Sieglinde Krings, the daughter of a field-marshal and owner of a large cement works. By failing to exhibit resourcefulness and strength of character when dealing with this stubborn and headstrong person, Starusch had merely earned her contempt and scorn. He had become for her a "Superfeigling" and had been rejected as such.[105] As a result of this initial disapointment, he has since continually questioned his life and turned away from reality. Now, in the present Starusch is a self-doubting figure in search of identity and meaningfulness, and his insecurity and weakness are reflected in the violent distortions of his surgery fantasies, as well as by his dependence upon the dentist, his failure to earn the respect of his pupils, and by his inability to secure an intimate relationship with his teaching colleague, Irmgard Seifert. For John Reddick, Starusch is summarised as a negative impotent imposter, who is continually confounded by the illogicality of his position,[106] whereas in the gentler words of Ann Mason, he is presented "as a real person with social obligations who has difficulty in adapting to his world,"[107] and just as Starusch does experience a problematic relationship to the present, he encounters the same type of dilemma with regard to historical development. In this respect Starusch's reception of the historical situation of the world at large, exemplified, for example, by the Vietnam war, is filtered through the experience of his own painful situation.[108] Thus, although he does not accept the atrocities of Vietnam,[109] the more valid problem for him is not the slaughter in the Mekong delta, but the pain of his dental treatment.[110] Elsewhere, Starusch declares history an absurd process of constantly returning forms from which man can learn nothing, and which can only create for him a situation to which he cannot relate in a meaningful way.[111] The problem of relating to his environment and of being accepted within it is in fact the essential difficulty for Starusch,[112] and because of this he may be regarded, as Becker suggests, as a figure who reveals the identity crisis of modern man in human, professional and sexual instances.[113]

Confronting Starusch, whose own words, "die Absurdität vernünftig gemeinter Handlungen"[114] are practically a concise summary of his own existence, is the second protagonist in the novel, the dentist, who, as a positively productive individual, "an embodiment of meaningful activity,"[115] is, on the face of it, an abundantly superior figure to the inhibited, insecure schoolmaster. Although he remains unidentified and somewhat distant throughout the novel, and is, according to Mason, "a figure of sober, de-mythified reality,"[116] the dentist has the confidence and initiative which Starusch lacks, and, as soon becomes obvious, a conception of history vastly different to that of his patient.[117] For the dentist historical evolution signifies a series of constantly improving techniques, for which his own profession serves as an undisputed model. Whereas in former times mashed lentils, pepper solutions, burned deerhorn, chiotresin and sal ammoniac were all recommended as valuable medicaments for dental troubles, nowadays Arantil, Siemens drills and ultrasonic scaling techniques provide relief for painful jaws. Whereas previously decaying teeth were not pulled out, but merely broken off at the roots, and later on, the pain of extraction was diffused by holding the patient's hand above a candle flame, in today's enlightened times, one is, on account of highly developed anaesthetic techniques, no longer dependent upon such acts of violence.[118] The basis of such anaesthesia is the alcohol derivative novocain,[119] and to eliminate even the comparatively insignificant pain of the injection, modern technology has provided a convenient means of distraction in the television set.[120] Unlike Starusch, who may only become a man of action in the fantasized re-enactments of his past, and who generally deserved the deprecating words and rejection of his former fiancée,[121] the dentist acts efficiently in the present, secure in the knowledge that the history of dentistry has signified an increasingly effective means of overcoming disease. The dentist's concept of history is in fact determined by this very awareness of constant scientific progress right into the present day. The contrast between Starusch and the dentist in the above brief analysis, in which the former's lack of positive results is already painfully clear in the light of the dentist's potential for success, may even be detected within the field of scientific research itself. Starusch, before taking up teaching, had reportedly been an engineer in the cement industry who had enjoyed considerable success in one of Europe's largest cement-producing firms.[122] The pollution of the environment through cement dust, which Starusch, despite his technological efforts, was not able to expel completely, and which may increase, for example, the weight of an acre of fir woods by as much as eighteen tons per year,[123] may be compared with the constantly decreasing level of contamination in human teeth which the dentist may achieve, and is seemingly only too happy to explain. The success of the dentist in achieving a solution to the particular problems which confront him, while Starusch has experienced past failure, is reflected in a later, but enviously appreciative admission of the latter:

> Allerlei Positives: geglückte Wurzelbehandlungen, Zahnsteinentfernungen, Korrekturen fehlerhafter Artikulation, vorbeugende Behandlung im vorschulischen Alter, das Ausbessern und Retten schon verloren geglaubter Backenzähne, Überbrückungen hässlicher Zahnlucken - und den Schmerz kann er beschwichtigen...[124]

Unlike Starusch, the dentist is in the fortunate position in which any problems arising will only be of a temporary nature, due to the application of the sophisticated dental tools and techniques which he has at his disposal. An obvious advantage he enjoys over his patient is the ease of self-examination and justification, of which Starusch is well aware: "Mein Zahnarzt ist verheiratet, steht mitten im Leben und übt einen Beruf aus, der zu Resultaten führt, die sich ablesen lassen."[125] Moreover, the nature of his profession is such that even errors may be termed partial successes: "Er ist richtig. Er hat das Mass in der Tasche. Seine Prognosen müssen nicht stimmen. Sein Irrtum heisst Teilerfolg. Seiner Sache ist er relativ sicher."[126] The security of the dentist's situation is further emphasized by the latent relationship between himself and his patient. Whereas Starusch, as a sufferer, must seek out his healer, the dentist is so materially successful that he could easily dispense with one less person to treat: "Er könnte auf mich verzichten. Ich bin auf ihn angewiesen."[127] In fact, the dentist can readily count on brisk business under any type of social condition: "Mein Betrieb hier läuft und läuft. Auch wenn die Welt stillstehen würde, die Leute kämen trotzdem, den Mund voller Klage und Wehgeschrei..."[128] The major advantage the dentist appears to have over Starusch lies, however, in his ability to accommodate all difficulties within one particular perspective, or simply to dispose of them by applying a principle of relative circumstances. At one point in the novel Starusch says, albeit with possible sarcasm, that his dentist treats everything as if it were a case of caries,[129] and just prior to this in a telephone conversation the dentist greets an idea of Starusch to dissuade Scherbaum from his incendiary plans with short, technical suggestions, as if it were a question of a root-treatment.[130] A similar simplification of extremely complicated circumstances applies too in the dentist's appraisal of aspects of Starusch's past. Accordingly, what to Starusch is a very painful and involved psychological process centering upon his rejection by his former fiancée Linde, is succinctly summed up in the form of a dental analysis: "Wie die Krise Ihres Verlöbnisses, so die gefährdeten Zahnnerven: wenn die Pulpa infiziert ist, bilden sich Gase durch Bakterien, die nur durch Bohren Abgang finden."[131] At the same time Starusch's self-anaesthetizing violence, his authoritarian procession "mit Fahrradketten und Blitzlichtlampen"[132] becomes "die sogenannte dicke Backe, die sich zum Abszess entwickelt."[133] In other instances, difficult situations are successfully circumvented by comparing the particular problems with a far worse version of the same thing. When Starusch questions the dentist directly upon the issue of napalm in Vietnam, a topic which for Starusch creates a situation of paradox,[134] the dentist merely replies that when compared with the nuclear weaponry known today, napalm appears as relatively harmless.[135] Also symptomatic of the dentist's simplifying approach to existence is his notion of an utopian, worldwide, socially integrated medicare system which will transcend all political ideologies and itself become the basis and superstructure[136] of human society. When describing this, the dentist tells Starusch that the premise on which it is based is the perpetually sick state of man,[137] and the means by which it would be achieved would be through the abolition of all social values which uphold health as their aim and standard, and which therefore create the social obligation to become physically and mentally fit. The result of this would be the world intself as a hospital in which would exist, a great world Medicare, which will not rule but care for man, and which will not change but will help him, and give him leisure for his infirmities.[138] In a system such as this, in which man would remain unencumbered by political-ideological leadership, the traditional distinction between doctor and patient would disappear. As all are susceptible to sickness and disease, all would be united in the fight against them, functioning simultaneously as healer and victim. Thus the society envisaged by the dentist is founded upon a system of prophylaxis and stoic cosmopolitanism,[139] and the basic working model for it lies in the preventive measures he himself undertakes in his surgery. For Keith Miles the dentist's utopia is "happily unrealistic", which, in a practical sense, is a justified view when the idea is taken at face value.[140] Reddick, on the other hand, sees beyond the impracticalities to the philosophical contents of the scheme, which reveal "an enlightened and liberal tolerance that is essentially humanistic in nature."[141]

Another factor which the dentist seems to have in his favour when contrasted with Starusch is his attitude towards violence and radicalism, topics with which the novel is heavily weighted. When Starusch attempts to change reality by means of murderous, brutal, or bulldozing techniques and revolutionary activity, the dentist counters with moderation and confidence in constant steadfast progress, and he opposes all historical abuses of power with the peaceful evolution of dentistry.[142] Meaningful action is only possible for the dentist where extremism and force are eliminated, and where all mutually invalidating political philosophies give way to truly productive measures, as in the case of modern dental medicine.[143] Yet while he attacks Starusch's violent fantasies, he allows a positive function to the imaginative process itself, for this may serve to distract in a useful and temporary manner from the minor discomforts which even the technically advanced profession of dentistry can cause. The same may be said of the dentist's attitude to pain, for although he does not encourage it - the very aim of the work he undertakes is a measure against this - he does accept it in certain situations. Thus, although it is true, as Starusch enviously realizes, that he can, and does, eliminate pain, he never does so in a total sense. By using the local anaesthetic he merely repulses pain temporarily, and is not necessarily interested in the creation of totally painless gaps through the swift extraction of teeth: "Das voreilige Ziehen der Zähne, dieser Wahn, eine nicht mehr schmerzende Lücke schaffen zu wollen, [ist] eine Tat ohne Erkenntnis. Dummheit wird tätig."[144] In this instance, the dentist's reluctance to pull a tooth, which is also another example of his rejection of radical action, is explained by his disapproval of precipitate activity without knowledge, but in his refusal to eradicate pain completely he seems to accept Starusch's concept of it as a warning signal against serious damage.[145] In the case of destructive agents and ineffective implements or materials, radical methods are, however, condoned. Thus the dentist advocates the radical removal of the tartar between Starusch's teeth, and concedes, amidst a particularly violent fantasy of his patient, that chlorophyll toothpastes, which falsely claim to be an effective means of protection against caries, should be radically abolished.[146] On the other hand, when faced with the problem of correcting the profile of Starusch's lower jaw, the dentist rejects the much more drastic solution - the cutting and re-adjusting of part of his patient's jaw-bone - and opts for the gentler alternative of crowning the latter's molar teeth.[147] The general expulsion of radicalism from the dentist's approach to reality and the subsequent belief in constantly progressive development is also evident in the utopian scheme of universal sickcare. Like the bulldozing fantasies of Starusch, the dentist's plan calls for a new social beginning, but it differs greatly from the reformatory visions of the former in the manner in which it comes into being. Whereas Starusch, would employ violent means to create the circumstances suitable to the construction of his new world, the universal sickcare scheme of the dentist could only be the result of a long evolutionary development: "Die weltweite Krankenfürsorge ist das Ergebnis langsamer und oft zu spät einsetzender Reformen und nicht dummer Gewalt, die nur das Nichts erschaffen kann."[148] In an earlier instance the dentist had opposed the violence of Starusch's fantasies with the semi-humorous threat of treating the latter without local anaesthetic.[149] Now, this gives way to an explanation of the dentist's point of view. Typically, the elucidation draws parallels from the world of dentistry, in this case, a particular kind of dental cement:

> Da EBA Nr. 2 nicht aus dem Nichts erstanden ist, sondern als Ergebnis vieler und oft vergeblicher Versuchsreihen gewertet werden kann, dürfen wir ihm vertrauen, zumal EBA Nr. 2 dank seiner Quarzkomponente selbst gegen Eiswasser isoliert, was nicht von jedem Dentalzement, der auf den Markt kommt, gesagt werden kann. Aber Sie geben ja nichts auf Entwicklung. Selbstherrlich

> wollen Sie erschaffen. Bei Null beginnen.
> Einfach lächerlich.[150]

In the second section of the novel the dentist, through the telephone calls of Starusch, is confronted with the intention of Starusch's pupil Scherbaum to burn his pet dog before the crowded Café Kempinski. Replying to Starusch's request for advice, he advocates delaying tactics aimed at disrupting the urgency of Scherbaum's plan, but just as he disagrees with the extreme action that Scherbaum threatens to undertake, he also rejects Starusch's similarly radical suggestion of poisoning the dog in order to rob Scherbaum of the subject of his demonstration.[151] While, however, the contrast of the dentist's non-violent disposition to Starusch's radicalism is continued here, the former, as in the case of Starusch's tarrar and of the chlorophyll toothpastes, once more concedes the employment of radical means - in this instance, when no other alternative appears possible.[152]

The most obvious aspect of the function of the dentist in örtlich betäubt is his role as the antagonist of the insecure, self-doubting Starusch. He is, as has been seen, in many ways exactly what his patient is not, and it does not take him long to detect some of the true aspects of the latter's character, as his remarks at the end of Starusch's first dental session indicate: "Hier mein Kärtchen. Sie haben, frei heraus gesagt, einen Hackbiss. Der gibt Ihnen, bei vorgeschobenem Unterkiefer, ein übertrieben markantes Aussehen. Brutalität wird vermutet. Hemmungen suchen Ausgleich."[153]

The dentist's unmasking role is continued in the next treatment when he speaks of Starusch's tartar and then goes on to the latter's fundamental difficulties:

> Krustig würgt er [der Zahnstein] die Zahnhälse. Blindlings hasst er den Schmelz. Denn mir können Sie nichts vormachen. Ein Blick genügt: Ihr Zahnstein ist Ihr versteinerter Hass. Nicht nur die Mikroflora in Ihrem Mundmilieu, auch Ihre krausen Gedanken, Ihr inständiges Rückwartsschielen, das immer abrechnet, wo es aufrechnen wollte, also die Neigung Ihres schwindendes Zahnfleisches, bakterienfangende Taschen zu bilden, das alles - die Summe aus Zahnbild und Psyche - verrät Sie: eingelagerte Gewalttätigkeiten, Mordanschläge auf Vorrat.[154]

In the third part of the novel the unveiling function reaches its most significant stage when the dentist informs Starusch that he has discovered that no such cement factory as described by the latter exists, and that far from being active as an industrial engineer, Starusch was merely enrolled as a student worker. Furthermore, after inquiring among his dental colleagues, he had come across a certain Monika Lindrath who had vague recollections of a student named Starusch, and who was now married and living in Koblenz. Of Starusch's engagement to Sieglinde Krings, of Krings himself, as well as his cement works, no trace was forthcoming, but in order not to deflate his patient too much, the dentist somewhat mockingly assures: "Verlobt sind wir schliesslich alle mal gewesen. Es liegt nicht in meiner Absicht, Ihre Erfindungsgabe einzuengen."[155]

The dentist, a pragmatic technocrat for whom only concrete, practical experiences count as genuine,[156] does not experience the type of insecurity which plagues Starusch, whose regressive appreciation of reality is intermingled with an almost neurotic fantasy. According to Reddick he functions, again in direct contrast to Starusch, as an "articulate expositor of what amounts to a philosophy of action."[157] Yet despite his unquestionable material success, his ease of disposing with problematic situations, his effortless appreciation of history, his rejection of violence, and his relentless optimism, the only action the dentist undertakes himself is directly related to his profession, and his approach to reality, although brimming with productive, practical factors, contains negative aspects which offset the advantages he enjoys. A fundamental weakness in the system of the dentist lies in the fact that the validity and significance of his existence, assured as this may be, is relative to, and may only assessed in terms of its useful value to the patient, and when he mentions that the usefulness of his activity is demonstrated by the number of patients in his full waiting-room, he also betrays the sole criterion by which his philosophy of life may be measured.[158] He views the world from the perspective of his surgery with its amassed technical equipment, and, contained within its confining walls, he remains essentially insensitive to external problems which include, among other things, the Vietnam war and the dishonest exploitation of certain countries from which, as Mason points out, he receives some of his materials.[159] As a consequence, the simplification or dismissal of certain aspects of reality characteristic of the dentist, do not solely appear as a positive expedient means of producing the relevant results, but also as a method of securing and guaranteeing the closed-in world which the dentist has constructed about himself. In this manner the dentist's capacity for reducing even the worst catastrophes which befall man to relative comparisons, as in the case of the napalm bombing of Vietnam, is dissatisfyingly evasive. Similarly unfulfilling as well, is his response to Starusch's questioning of his universal sickcare scheme. The criticism that in a society where health is rejected as a criterion of existence and in which all inhabitants are to be regarded as being in some state of sickness no provision is made for the natural strivings of mankind to improve its situation, is met, for example, with a sharp and deflecting warning not to generalize.[160] The self-protective measures employed by the dentist are generally successful throughout the novel, but on the one occasion when his defences are breached, the one time when he is not able to ward off the procedures of the outside world, the moment when he is challenged to share in the responsibilities of its workings through Scherbaum's request for drugs with which to deaden the pain his dog would suffer while burning, the roles of the dentist and the schoolmaster are seemingly reversed. Instead of Starusch being the one to telephone him, the dentist telephones Starusch, which provokes an amusing, yet highly relevant and telling reaction from the latter:

"Streikt etwa seine Airmatik? Hat ihm ein Patient in den Finger gebissen? Will seine Sprechstundenhilfe kündigen?"[161] In this instant it is the dentist who appears insecure and strangely affected by the circumstances in which he finds himself and Starusch, well acquainted with confusing situations and lack of self-confidence, is able to detect the same symptoms in the usually self-reliant technocrat: "Was denn, Dokter, was?! Was verwirrt ihn so nachhaltig? Was nimmt dem Praktiker die fröhliche Selbstsicherheit? 'Wo fehlt es denn, Dokter? Wenn ich irgendwie helfen kann'"[162] Just as Starusch cannot relate directly to the problems of his past, but must anaesthetize himself to their painful memories, the dentist seems here to experience the same difficulty when confronted by dilemmas other than dental issues, and his general refusal to accept a reality other than a world of successful dental prophylaxis is in principle an application of the same technique he uses to benumb his patients' jaws, or which Starusch applies to make his present life bearable.[163] The dentist's self-anaesthetization is on the face of it much more permanent than that of Starusch, who admits his own weakness, and whose numbing violence is interrupted on several occasions by the dentist himself. In this manner the inviolability of the technocrat may be seen as hypocritical, for what he criticizes in Starusch is in essence what he promotes for himself. Moreover, he is also inconsistent with regard to his attitude to pain, which he on one occasion accepts as having a positive warning value.

In his permanently anaesthetized state he is insusceptible to the far greater perspective of pain and suffering which exists beyond his surgery door, and he may thus be said to lead an artificial existence which does not contribute to the reaction-filled, cause and effect nature of the world process.[164] The progressive-technical world of the dentist is thus not only a caricature of his own profession, for it also represents an extremely limited appreciation of reality, which indicates that the dentist is by no means in the far superior position to his patient, as at first seemed evident.[165]

A contrast between Starusch and the dentist in the light of the developments just described cannot thus be said to be characterized by a clear-cut decision in favour of the latter, whom Durzak even goes so far as to describe as the actual loser, while Starusch, on the other hand, although he does not become free of pain, actually wins by succeeding in changing Scherbaum's mind and, not least of all, in getting on more intimate terms with his colleague Irmgard Seifert, to whom he becomes engaged.[166] A major reason for the dentist's "defeat" lies for Durzak in the destruction at the close of the novel of the complex work he had earlier performed inside Starusch's mouth. An abscess develops in the latter's jaw, the ingenious platinum gold-procelain bridge has to be sawn through, and a tooth pulled. Thus the technical wonder carried out upon Starusch's jaw may only amount after all to the creation of a painless gap which the dentist had earlier tried to avoid, as he is forced to employ the radical last alternative to his intricate dental artistry. Although Ann Mason would take issue with Durzak's argument, there is much in it that is valid.[167] It is true, for example, that it is Starusch, and not the dentist, as Mason argues, who is more effective in changing Scherbaum's mind, and furthermore, by having to destroy all his careful work, the dentist is forced to recognise that the enclosed, yet admittedly progressive world of Aqua-Pik, high speed drills and delicate tin shells may be as susceptible to failure as Starusch himself is, although it depends for its own self-justification upon its practical value to outsiders. In addition, while the dentist, in his attitude towards positive action, may echo much of Grass' own thoughts,[168] it is Starusch who provides the more fundamental reflection of the author's philosophy, when he compares his own version of the evolutionary process which includes regression as a constituent characteristic, with the revolutionary spontaneity of Scherbaum:

> Also Fleiss, Zweifel, Vernunft, Dazulernen, Zögern, mehrmaliger Neubeginn, kaum merkliche Verbesserungen, einkalkulierte Fehlentwicklungen, Evolution Schritt für Schritt: die Spring-prozession; während der Täter langsame Abläufe überhüpft, das Hemmende Wissen abwirft, leichtfüssig und faul ist:..[169]

In assessing the function of the dentist in örtlich betäubt it must be borne in mind that by creating the figures of Starusch and the latter Grass seems to be weighing up two totally different systems of existence. Starusch, a self-questioning, insecure individual with a background of past failures and an inclination to resign himself to new ones, is treated by a pragmatic, forward-looking technocrat, whose problems are continually overcome by the relentless return to the security of his own profession. When the relationship between the two characters is regarded solely in these terms, the function of the dentist appears largely as an advisor-confessor and a deliverer into reality for his suffering, anaesthetized patient.[170] Important as these roles are, as is also the dentist's function as the advocate of productive meaningful action, and of non-violent prophylactic principles, the key to his major purpose in the novel lies in a deeper appreciation of his connection with the schoolmaster. As Durzak mentions, both protagonists are representatives of a solid middle class,[171] but of the two, Starusch, ultimately because of the very pain he experiences at the hands of the world at large, is the more convincing and realistic figure. Whereas the dentist represents positive action more than any of the other characters in the novel, the very manner in which he seeks to practise this confines him to a narrow restricted world, and whereas on the one hand he apparently does not dispute the positive significance of pain, and generally does not wish to eliminate it altogether, he does, in another fashion, achieve this very effect. His ability to cast off cumbersome knowledge and avoid delaying awareness, together with his facility for drastic simplification into familiar terms, secure his technocratic world and preserve him from the problems outside it. This self-anaesthetization is absolute, and in a personal sense suffering for the dentist does not exist. Such a process leads, however, to a distorted view of reality. The problems of humanity cannot simply be solved as if they were a dental enigma, and history, as Starusch well knows, is far more than a succession of increasingly successful technical improvements. In his failure, or reluctance, to obtain a fuller perception of the external world, the dentist subsequently appears very much as a somnambulistic figure whose sphere of existence revolves around his surgery and its impressive inventory of dental apparatus. This, like his caricature-type quality, is a fundamental characteristic of his being, and together these two basic traits determine his main function as one of the novel's two protagonists. Whereas Grass cannot at all be said to present the painful existence of Starusch as a pattern for mankind to follow, he does appear to state that man's progression in the modern world necessarily involves the problems of self-identity and self-vindication, and that the phenomenon of self-anaesthetization is an important means of maintaining one's equilibrium in what often appears as an unstable atmosphere. The dentist, however, with his conviction of being able to solve any problem in a pragmatic, objective and sober fashion,[172] represents a mode of existence which seeks to bypass these essential issues. His optimistic progressiveness may subsequently take in its stride almost any technical difficulty he encounters within his surgery, but it has no place for the real problems on the outside, is thereby exposed as a shallow and restricted approach to reality, and in one decisive instance is itself revealed as an illusion. The dentist is then a negative counterpart to the insecure and self-doubting Starusch, and appears as a somnambulistic caricature while the latter emerges as a much more valid example of confused and pained, and thus very real, modern man.[173]

Helplessness, inadequacy, insecurity, doubting self-examination - these are the characteristics of the modern individual which appear in the two plays and one novel just discussed above. They are also characteristics which in different ways concern the doctor figures of these works: Fräulein von Zahnd of Die Physiker, who incorporates within her person forces which reduce all human effort to farcical ridiculousness; Count Übelohe-Zabernsee, who in Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi typifies this unfortunate fate; the anonymous dentist of örtlich betäubt, who represents a system apparently secure and self-vindicable, but which in reality is restricted and illusorily foolproof. In the case of Dürrenmatt's two plays the picture of society which emerges is generally severe, and in Grass' work it is largely determined by the anaesthetic effects of resigned endurance and limitation. In Thomas Bernhard's novel Verstörung (1967), from which the final analysis of the doctor-figure in this investigation will be made, the picture of society is characterised by an exaggerated emphasis upon the pathologically abnormal.[174]

Bernhard, who was born the son of an Austrian farmer in the Dutch province of Limburg in 1931, took up a study of the aesthetics of music and choral art before becoming a newspaper court reporter. He travelled extensively in Italy, Yugoslavia, England and Poland before settling in 1965 in the Upper Austrian town of Ohlsdorf. After earlier prose publications his first proper novel Frost appeared in 1963, to be followed by, among other works, the narrative tale Amras (1964), the play Ein Fest für Boris (1967), the novels Ungenach (1968), Watten (1969), Das Kalkwerk (1970), Die Ursache (1975), and the plays Der Ignorant und der Wahnsinnige (1972) and Die Jagdgesellschaft (1973). He has received numerous literary prizes. Bernhard's literary works, of which Verstörung is a typical example, portray an incessant progressive disintegration of existence. They are set against the background of Bernhard's Austrian homeland which appears in a very negative light, a characteristic which the writer almost scandalously reinforces by expressions such as those embodied in his acceptance speech after being awarded an Austrian State prize for literature in 1968.[175]

Verstörung, Bernhard's second novel, is divided into two parts, of which the first is typified by sharp attention to detail, while the latter section drifts into the abstractions of an exceedingly long monologue. It concerns the visits of a country doctor to his sick patients throughout the Austrian province of Styria, which are described by the doctor's son, a student of Montanistik at Leoben, who accompanies his father on his calls. As critics have mentioned, the consultation rounds of the doctor form a topographical progression from the lower areas of his practice to the higher mountainous regions, and this is paralleled by a corresponding rise in the intellectual and social class status of the patients treated.[176]

The action of the work begins with a call to an inn in the village of Gradenberg, where the innkeeper's wife had been beaten over the head by one of her customers, the drunken miner Grössl. Realizing the seriousness of her condition, the doctor has her transported immediately to the hospital in Köflach, but just after her arrival there, she dies. The episode at Gradenberg constitutes the beginning of the progression mentioned above, the village lying in a lower region, mainly proletarian in nature, where the inhabitants are miners, innkeepers, peasants, cattle-dealers and butchers, and where meanness, brutality, coarseness, criminality and alcoholism are the order of the day. Leaving Gradenberg, the doctor and his son then travel higher into the mountains to Stiwoll,[177] to the Jewish realtor Bloch who possesses an enormous library, conducts intellectual discussions regularly with the doctor, and who may better survey the world from his own location than from other, more well-known centres.[178] Bloch suffers from terrible headaches for which he needs increasing amounts of the drug the doctor prescribes for him,[179] but he may also find relief whenever he is intensively concerned with his business correspondence. Also in Stiwoll is the invalid widow Ebenhöh,[180] to whom the doctor, after leaving Bloch, proceeds on foot, and who is surrounded by the untidiness and irregularity of her garden, which evokes an atmosphere of feverish sickness. Inside her house the conditions are exactly the same: "Ihre nach der Todeskrankheit, der sie sich bereits widerstandslos fügte, riechende Wäsche lag überall herum...Die Unterwäsche wird nicht mehr versteckt, die Qual wird nicht mehr versteckt, das Geruchsempfinden ist abgestumpft, keine Ursache mehr zum Verheimlichen der Gebrechen, mit welchen man allein ist."[181] The widow Ebenhöh, whose husband had been a senior schoolmaster, had once had a brother who was a hardened criminal, and who, three days after completing a fifteen year sentence in prison, had hanged himself from the window bars in the top floor of her house. She also has a son who is gigantic in size, with unusually long arms and rough powerful hands, who is mentally deficient, and who works in an obscene smelling tannery in Krottendorf. From Stiwoll the father and son then drive to Hauenstein, to a more or less insane industrialist[182] who suffers from diabetes, is writing a philosophical treatise, the manuscripts of which he constantly destroys, and whose sole connection with the outside world lies in his correspondence.[183] To ensure that he remains completely undisturbed, the industrialist, who speaks several European and East Asian languages, allows no books in his house, has destroyed all the wildlife in the forests surrounding it, and has placed otherwise unemployed miners and forestry workers about his property to keep outsiders away. The situation of absolute silence which now greets the industrialist is for him a fantastic predicament.[184]

The next stop in the doctor's rounds is at the Fochlermühle, a water-mill situated in a deep wooded gorge where the miller keeps a large aviary of exotic foreign birds, and nurses a swollen infected leg which needs fresh dressings every week. The condition of the miller and his wife is one of inexorable decay:

> Mein Vater schilderte den Müller als einen schwerfälligen sechzigjährigen Mann, der unter der Haut VERFAULE, immer auf einem alten Sofa liegt, nicht mehr gehen kann, seine Frau deren Mundgeruch auf einen rasch fortschreitenden Zersetzungsprozess ihrer Lungenflügel hindeute, habe Wasser in den Füssen. Ein alter fetter Wolfshund gehe zwischen beiden hin und her, von seinem zu ihrem Sofa und wieder zurück. Wären nicht in allen Zimmern frische Äpfel aufgeschüttet, würde man den Geruch der beiden alten Menschen und des Wolfshunds nicht aushalten.[185]

Because the constant noise of the birds had caused the miller's dog to run all over the place in a most frantic manner, which in turn had granted no peace to the miller and his wife, he had ordered that they be destroyed. At the time of the doctor's visit half the population of the aviary had been killed by the miller's two sons and a Turkish worker at the mill, and the heap of dead birds they had created was now giving off a strong odour of rotting flesh.

The next patient the doctor visits is the crippled

Krainer, the son of longstanding servants of the Fürst Saurau, who lives at the head of the gorge, above the Fochlermühle and in the shadow of the walls of Hochgobernitz, the ancestral home of their master. The disorders and deformities of the young Krainer are the most grotesque in the novel. His head is far too narrow, from which his eyes bulge out; he has one leg longer than the other, so that any attempt of his to walk would be reminiscent of the movements of a gigantic insect; he is completely hairless and his body is covered with yellow blotches; he salivates and shivers and his bed is occasionally enclosed by an iron frame because of his violent outbreaks. The "Katastrophalveränderungen' in Krainer's body are matched by a corresponding collapse of his mental facilities, leaving him both crippled and insane. In such a condition he could easily become terribly old.[186]

With the medical examination of the young Krainer the first part of *Verstörung* ends, and the second section, which comprises practically two thirds of the whole book, consists of the long monologue conducted by the insane, but also highly aware Fürst Saurau, the last patient in that particular day's round of medical calls, while strolling accompanied by the doctor and his son along the walls of his castle.[187] He talks of three candidates for an administration post on his estates, of natural disasters and of his own afflictions; he philosophizes on man's existence, meditates on suicide, criticizes the state, and, in short, he sums up in a deeper sense much of what had been revealed in the painstaking observations of the first part of the novel. The book ends quite suddenly in the midst of Saurau's soliloquy and tends to leave the reader initially somewhat dissatisfied by the monotony of its incessant return to pathological disease, insanity and the abnormal. In its depiction of these darker recesses of human existence, however, Verstörung represents an attempt to identify what for Bernhard is the true situation of all earthly life, and to expose as highly questionable that which is usually regarded as normal within it.

An important key to an understanding of Verstörung lies in Bernhard's concept of death. In the opening words of his already-mentioned acceptance speech for an Austrian literary prize he expresses himself in the following manner: "es ist nichts zu loben, nichts zu verdammen, nichts anzuklagen, aber es ist vieles lächerlich; es ist alles lächerlich, wenn man an den TOD denkt."[188] Here he reveals that all existence becomes meaningless when confronted with death, that life is, in fact, determined by death, and that death is a constant factor in all activity and undertaking. These themes are perennial topics in the novel, and are evident not only in the ghastly descriptions of the doctor's patients, but also in the thoughts of the nobleman Saurau. For him humanity constitutes nothing more than a gigantic community of the dying, consisting of billions and spread across five continents, and life a school in which the instruction-material is death itself.[189] The sole attainable object of learning is death.[190] What constantly occupies man's attentions is death, and it remains "am deutlichsten menschlich, ..dass alles im Tod geschieht."[191] Because death has achieved dominance over life, sickness is viewed as positive - "die Krankheiten führen den Menschen am kürzesten zu sich selbst" - and life, as a preparation for death, is only as long as is necessary.[192] Positive significance to death is also supplied by the doctor, for whom the essential characteristics of man only become discernible when he is lost to this world:

> Das Wesentliche an einem Menschen komme erst dann, wenn wir ihn als für uns verloren anschauen müssen, in der Zeit, in welcher dieser Mensch nur noch von uns Abschied nimmt, zum Vorschein. Er könne auf einmal in allem, was an ihm nur noch Vorbereitung auf seinen ENDGÜLTIGEN TOD sei, auf seine Wahrheit hin identifiziert werden.[193]

In this sense relationships between people, as in the case of man and wife, can only become totally fulfilled for the one when the other is dead, as the doctor realizes with regard to his own deceased spouse: "Jetzt erkenne er sie, die zu ihren Lebzeiten neben ihm von ihm zwar geliebt, aber niemals erkannt worden sei. Zusammen sei der Mensch mit einem geliebten andern endlich erst, wenn der betreffende TOT, TATSÄCHLICH IN IHM IST."[194]

Another fundamental theme of Verstörung is its notion of an inexplicable and destructive nature, and again it is the Fürst Saurau who plays an important part in revealing this. He informs his visitor that nature alone defies elucidation, and elsewhere he describes it as the only true poetry, or as a system of numbers and digits, or as a perfect grammar, or a gigantic universal surrealism, or as a concept clearly differentiated from human existence.[195] Natural phenomena and catastrophes directly affect Saurau and are reproduced within his being in the form of constant destructive intrusions into his perception. Violent subterranean earth-movements and running water cause noises within his mind which he identifies as "Risse, die sich vergrössern, ein idealer Zersetzungsprozess der Natur!"[196] A devastating flood, which had caused a considerable amount of cattle to drown and give off a decaying smell in the valley of the river Ache below his castle, is experienced by him in the sense of a mental disaster:

> ...das Wort VERWESUNG, das Wort VERFALLPROZESS, das Wort DILUVISMUS ausrufend, habe er auf einmal von einer durch die Geräusche in seinem Gehirn noch viel grösseren Verwüstung IN SEINEM KOPF als an den Ufern der Ache unten gesprochen. "Hier in meinem Kopf", hatte der Saurau gesagt, "handelt es sich tatsächlich um eine UNVORSTELLBARE VERWÜSTUNG."[197]

His castle, Hochgobernitz, has during the course of centuries gradually been invaded and permeated by the expanse of nature surrounding it, and he himself is unable to escape the same fate: "Ich schlafe auch, denke ich oft, IN dieser Natur, ich schlafe IN der der Hochgobernitz entsprechenden Feuchtigkeit und Kälte."[198] In the same context he speaks of a coldness which comes up from the gorge, so that in his castle an icy chill prevails, which may penetrate his being, regardless of his situation: "'Die Kälte', sagte der Fürst, 'ist in mir, also ist es gleich, wohin ich gehe, die Kälte geht IN MIR MIT MIR. Ich erfriere von innen heraus.'"[199] Similarly symptomatic of the inexplicable and destructive characteristics of nature are the drawings of one of the doctor's former patients, a schoolteacher from Salla, whose work the doctor describes to his son:

> Das Dämonische, das in den Zeichnungen des Lehrers mehr und mehr zum Vorschein gekommen sei, habe seine Eltern erschüttert. In feinen Linien zeichnete er eine Welt, "die eine selbst vernichtende Welt ist", ..Zerfetzte Vögel, auseinandergerissene Menschenzungen, achtfingrige Hände, zerbrochene Köpfe,..Der Surrealismus des Lehrers sei ein vollkommen neuer,..das auf den Blättern des Lehrers sei nichts anderes als die Wirklichkeit.[200]

In the chaotic violence created by the schoolmaster upon his sheets of paper the doctor detects the true natural state of much of the area his medical practice covers:

> Von seinem Bett aus habe der Lehrer auf den Bundscheck auf der einen und auf den Wölkerkogel auf der anderen Seite sehen können. "Diese ganze grauenhafte Natur ist in seinen Zeichnungen spürbar" sagte mein Vater...Er habe eine ganz andere Natur gesehen als sie [seine Eltern], sagte mein Vater, "eine ganz andere als die, die WIR sehen, wenn wir in sie hineinschauen." Er habe auch eine ganz andere Natur gemalt, "alles vollkommen anders."[201]

In the second section of the novel, the long monologue of Fürst Saurau, which has already been seen to be a rich source of essential thematic information, the symptoms of the dislocated, distorted world emerging from the schoolmaster's drawings, as well as from the earlier part of the doctor's round of medical calls, are developed fully in definitive terms. Using expressions which could quite easily be part of Bernhard's already-mentioned acceptance speech, the Fürst delineates the world as a comic farce, a stage upon which life is merely rehearsed, or as a system of numbers in which no real contact between people is possible.[202] In this sense the individual is never solitary, but always alone[203] for, like everyone else, he is an alienated being, a victim of the perplexing reality in which he exists, in which what he really is, remains unclear. He is continually subject to the encroachment of an inexplicable nature which causes a fundamental disorientated human condition, a meaningless disjointed confusion, a situation of "Verstörung", which, as a consequence, drives him ever deeper into his own being and destroys all meaningful contact with his fellow sufferers. This is the sense of the Fürst's words: "Wir leben in einem, man soll nicht glauben grossen, tatsächlich engen Gebäude alle zusammen und sind Hunderttausende von Kilometern auseinander. Wir hören uns nicht, wenn wir uns anrufen."[204] Under such conditions life has become agonizing, contentious, uncertain and obnoxiously distasteful: "Alles liegt doch in einer gleichmässig stumpfsinnigen Agonie,..ist...nur eine Geometrie der Zerwürfnisse, Zweifel, Leiden, schliesslich der Qual...hat mehr und mehr einen üblen Mundgeruch."[205] In this type of world the only possible manner in which human beings may exist is as sick and insane, dying and disoriented individuals.[206]

Amidst this thoroughly negative setting the physician conducts his far-reaching practice. He is the sole representative of his profession in what amounts to a relatively large and difficult area,[207] and appears as a diligent practitioner of medicine who, unlike other doctors, who are nothing more than businessmen and act as such,[208] is very much concerned with the needs of his patients, rather than with the prospect of a financially successful practice. He is thoroughly familiar with the names and condition of all he has to treat, often extends the duration of his sick-calls when he really desires to be elsewhere, and, unlike many, still has the patience of an attentive listener.[209] In fact, to begin a medical practice at all in such a region, borders upon madness, but the doctor is accustomed to sacrifice himself for a thoroughly diseased population inclined to violence and insanity.[210] While, however, the doctor appears here as an industrious, self-sacrificing individual totally committed to the needs of his patients, many others in his profession merely engage in a superficial course of treatments:

> "Die meisten Ärzte treiben auch heute noch keine Ursachenforschung", sagte mein Vater, "gehen ganz auf in den primitivsten Behandlungsschemata." "Medikamente verschreibende Heuchler", wichen sie überhaupt der Beschäftigung, dem Studium des Seelischen des Menschen ...aus. "Faul und feig" seien die Ärzte, sagte mein Vater, sich ihnen ausliefern, bedeute, sich DEM ZUFALL UND DER VÖLLIGEN GEFÜHLLOSIGKEIT, EINER PSEUDOWISSENSCHAFT ausliefern. Die meisten Ärzte seien heute "UNGELERNTE Arbeiter der Medizen", die "grössten Verheimlicher".[211]

Unlike the majority of his medical colleagues, the physician of Verstörung is committed to "Ursachenforschung." A major reason for his friendship with the realtor Bloch, whose Jewish background does not, despite local prejudice, deter the doctor from visiting him,[212] lies in the weekly discussions - "Autopsien an dem Körper der Natur"[213] - which the two engross themselves in, and which, by their very character, indicate the desire for a much deeper understanding of universal conditions.

The positive qualities attributed to the country doctor stand in sharp contrast to the essentially negative sick world in which he is functionally active. What this latter topic entails must now be described. The most readily evident functional role of the doctor lies in the revealing aspects of his medical calls. The first example of this occurs after Grössl's brutal attack on the innkeeper's wife, when, discussing the incident while breakfasting with an acquaintance of his, the doctor goes on to analyze the type of existence led in the country. Brutality, crime and violence are seen to be the cornerstones of daily life in an area where crime is far in excess of that committed in the city:

> Tatsächlich seien mehr Brutale und Verbrecherische auf dem Land als in der Stadt. Auf dem Land sei die Brutalität wie die Gewalttätigkeit das Fundament. Die Brutalität in der Stadt sei nichts gegen die Brutalität auf dem Land und die Gewalttätigkeit in der Stadt nichts gegen die Gewalttätigkeit auf dem Land. Die Verbrechen in der Stadt, die STADTverbrechen, seien nichts gegen die Verbrechen auf dem Land, die LANDverbrechen.[214]

To provide a medical service to the inhabitants of such a region means to enter a world of corruption and vice, and in the case of Grössl's assault, the real culprit was the innkeeper himself, who for years had treated his wife as if she were an item of livestock.[215] What the physician reveals here, however, is but one aspect of a world which is sick and diseased in its entirety. He exists, in fact permanently in a sick world among sick people,[216] and he retains his function of exposing this condition, either directly through his own analysis, or indirectly by initiating his narrator-son into the eccentric, sordid, and often startling presence of his patients throughout the novel. Because the physician deems it a mistake to conceal the fact that everything is diseased,[217] and because he sees an educational value in the sight of his patients, the doctor takes his son with him on his rounds: "'Studienhalber' nehme er mich mit, sagte mein Vater, immer wieder sagte er 'studienhalber'."[218] Verstörung is however, far from being an "Erziehungsroman" in the regular sense, for the doctor is also very apprehensive with regard to the circumstances which his son will experience,[219] and, much more significant, the awareness and insight that the latter will gain will merely reflect the negative reality which the Fürst sums up in his soliloquy.[220] The educational value of the conditions to which the doctor's son is exposed will thus rest in the recognition of a reality permeated by a human situation of derangement and isolation.

Despite the conscientious, self-sacrificing diligence which characterizes the physician's approach to the medical problems everywhere about him, his patients exhibit no trace of improvement. Instead, Bloch, the widow Ebenhöh, the industrialist, the miller and his wife, Krainer and Saurau - all show increasing symptoms of decay against which the doctor's medicines and treatments have no decisive effect. There are other instances, too, mentioned in the novel, when the latter's knowledge and efforts have been fruitless. Such was the case, for example, with regard to the illness of his wife in whose condition an unknown and completely puzzling change was seen to occur, against which he was helpless, and he is now similarly ineffective when confronted with the melancholy sickness of his daughter: "An ihr sehe er am deutlichsten seine Hilflosigkeit."[221] Another occasion when the doctor was unable to prescribe a successful treatment occurred in the case of the Salla schoolmaster, when the former was aware that usual medical terminology could not describe the true circumstances of the latter's demise: "Freilich könne man sagen, meinte der Vater, dass der Lehrer an einer Herzkrankheit, and der sogenannten Herzruptur, gestorben ist, man könne es sich so einfach machen. 'Aber das war es nicht', sagte er."[222]

By emphasizing the medical quality and the diligent humanitarian approach exhibited by the country doctor when unsuccessfully tackling the problems of his patients, Bernhard, however, underlines the insoluble depths of the sick reality his character reveals. The brutality of the Styrian proletariat, the pungent decay of Ebenhöh and Fochler, the catastrophic deformity of Krainer, and the insane eccentricities of the other patients are symbolic of the fundamental disoriented human predicament, the "Verstörung" which the writer identifies as the basic condition of all human existence. Cure for the patients of the novel is impossible, and for this reason the medical function of the physician is totally negated, a fact which is reinforced by the mentally disturbed, but very aware Fürst Saurau:

> "Dazu muss ich sagen", sagte der Fürst, "dass ich NIE an die Ärzte geglaubt habe, und dass ich auch heute nicht an die Kunst der Ärzte glaube,..und ich glaube auch heute, dass die Ärzte immer am weitesten von der menschlichen Natur entfernte Menschen sind, am wenigsten mit der menschlichen Natur VERTRAUT."[223]

While, however, the doctor is powerless to prevent or contain the diseases and decay which he encounters, he remains nevertheless an exceptional member of his profession, for, like the Fürst himself, and the Salla schoolmaster, he does possess insight into human nature and is acquainted with the conditions which determine it. This aspect of his role in the novel is already obvious from his revealing descriptions of the lowland countryfolk, as well as from his assessment of the Salla schoolteacher's drawings. Another important instance in this respect occurs while the doctor and his son are descending into the gorge where the Fochlermühle is situated. The doctor speaks of an oil-painting hanging in the miller's room:

> Es sei kein Heiligenbild, im Gegenteil, es stelle zwei mit den Rücken zueinander stehende nackte Männer mit "total verdrehten" Köpfen, "Gesicht zu Gesicht", dar. Das Bild bewundere er schon lange, und er habe daran immer schon die verschiedensten "mehr grausigen" Gedanken geknüpft...Jetzt erklärte er mir, dass das Bild absolut hässlich und gleichzeitig absolut schön sei. "Es ist schön, weil es wahr ist", sagte mein Vater.[224]

The picture of the two naked figures portrays the fundamental distortion of human relationships and the impossibility of meaningful human contact, for, while the figures' heads are turned towards each other as if to seek mutual acceptance, the bodies are pointed in opposite directions which indicates the imminence of complete separation. The paradoxical quality of the painting is recognised by the doctor as the true circumstances of reality, as an allegorical form of the basic dilemma of existence, the situation of "Verstörung".

The question remains, however, as to what the essential function of the doctor is in the novel. He has been seen as a character who is aware of the true nature of the world in which he lives, and who reveals the sickness and decay of which it consists. It is in a deeper perusal of these activities that the major significance of his role lies. Unlike practically all the other characters in Verstörung the physician is able to maintain rationality and equilibrium amidst the universally insane, sick desolation which surrounds him. Although the danger of disorientation and decay is omnipresent, and has even penetrated his own immediate family, he himself, in full awareness of its presence and character, and despite a frequent threat of succumbing to the ugliness of his environment,[225] remains normal and logical. He is very much a solitary figure who needs from time to time the attention of a listener,[226] but his loneliness is of a quite different mould to the disorientation of his patients. While these are alienated by an oppressive reality, he is differentiated by his very normality, and the more he comes into contact with them, the more solitary he becomes, while the problem of communication is impossible: "Tatsächlich kommt mein Vater mit immer mehr Menschen zusammen, um immer mehr allein zu sein."; "...er [der Arzt] sagte: '...Es ist alles ganz anders. Es ist immer alles ganz anders. Sich verständlich machen ist unmöglich.'"[227] The sole character in the novel with whom the doctor may converse in a relatively normal manner is the realtor Bloch,[228] who, significantly, possesses the art of understanding existence as a type of mechanism in which the most important functions are easily grasped.[229] In a way, this is what the doctor himself does, and, as an external knowing observer and revealer of the sickness the novel depicts, he subsequently emerges as a vehicle of the author, a fictional representative of an investigative perceptive mind, which, in a manner very similar to the process mentioned in an autobiographical reference of Friedrich Dürrenmatt, is able to detect "das Schreckliche hinter den Kulissen".[230] It is for this reason that the doctor stands in such sharp contrast to the personages who inhabit the world of the novel, and for this reason too his medical function is totally negated -

it is meant to be. Although Bernhard may summarize the issues of modern reality in terms of a pathological difficulty, he also stresses that no cure is forthcoming. All that remains for modern man is the mere recognition of his unfortunate plight, a recognition which, through the functional activities of Bernhard's medical character, is also brought home to the reader of Verstörung.

CONCLUSION

The functional significance of the physician within the literary works examined in this thesis is typified by an undulating series of developments which are seen to stand in firm relationship to the major political, economic and social events of the historical periods which the selected literature covers. At the outset of the investigation, striking examples of the doctor's utilization as the mouthpiece of socially concerned writers - a role which arises in conjunction with the former's identification as a scientific investigator and his subsequent important designation as a proclaimer of truth in the latter decades of the nineteenth century - manifest increasingly urgent warning tones until the moment of social catastrophe occurs, as is reflected in Ponten's work Die Bockreiter. Whereas initially, the concept of truth with which the scientific physician came to be associated was conceived in terms of an imminent breakthrough into an age of peaceful and prosperous comfort, it appears in the first works examined here already transformed into a detectable scepticism, as in Finckh's Der Rosendoktor, and then into a definite and sharply negative appraisal of contemporary society, as in Hauptmann's two works and Ponten's novelle. While these four works reveal a progressive development in the physician's status as a man of insight and as a vehicle of warning, it is also significant that they do not portray their important character as a totally omniscient and/or energetic activist capable of playing an ultimately decisive role in the improvement of society. All the physicians, in fact, contain within their person a passive trait or inherent weakness which the literary writer appears to want to stress. Thus the doctor of Finckh's story gives his early warnings and retires to cultivate roses; Schimmelpfennig in Vor Sonnenaufgang, while certainly a realistic and dedicated physician, mars his praiseworthy diligence by an unfeeling pragmatism and in one case by a disastrous scientific error; von Kammacher in Atlantis, from whom more urgent warnings of impending social danger come, suffers from an all too human sensitivity and lack of consistency and withdraws from the practice of medicine because of its spiritual demands; Kirchhoff in Die Bockreiter, who is only too aware of the disaster about to befall his world and who attempts desperately to forestall it, merely hastens its development and himself falls victim to it. The significance of these withdrawals and failings may be said to lie in the attempt of the writers to establish credibility and validity for the figure selected as the means of expressing their views. By exposing the human qualities of their characters in this manner they may hope for greater social identification with both the latter and with the criticism they have to offer - similarly, neither Stockmann nor Relling in Ibsen's plays An Enemy of the People and The Wild Duck appear as infallible social activists, despite the truths which they reveal. The works discussed in the first chapter of this investigation reveal nascent and then steadily growing social tensions which are epitomized for the writers above all by an advancing spiritual decay. It is essentially this factor which the physician is intended to expose and/or criticize, and, as a result, new perspectives on an age of otherwise astonishing achievements may be said to have been opened up. The works, through the specific medium of the doctor-figure, can thus be seen as a counter to, or a brake upon the intoxication produced by an era of unprecedented scientific devlopment and expansion, as well as a means of providing a deeper appreciation of a historical period often glorified for its material success.

The warning function of the physician is continued to a certain extent in Hofmannsthal's drama Der Turm, but in a real sense the medical man has become a totally passive figure dominated by forces he at first is not even aware of. Although on the one hand Hofmannsthal takes pains to stress the professional importance of his character, as well as the latter's ability to detect the spiritual nobility of Sigismund and the spiritual depravity of figures such as Julian and Basilius, the playwright, in the depiction of the physician's weakness in the closing stages of the play, clearly underlines the futile position of the scientific humanitarian in the harsh new social order represented by Olivier. The spiritual essence of existence, the sustenance of which has already been seen to cause concern, appears entirely banished at the outcome of the action, and the physician accordingly suffers a drastic decline in active functional significance. A further recession of this occurs in the two works of Karl Schönherr, in which negative forces, in the form of a chronic material need, prove to be an insurmountable obstacle for the social intentions of the medical man, who subsequently experiences a betrayal of his principles at the hands of both himself and of the community he had attempted to serve. The functional role of the physician is largely apparent here in an indirect sense, for in his unfortunate plight, which is even typified on one occasion by a witnessing of a complete negation of medical practice, the extent of the depravity and spiritual desolation of his environment may be gauged.

The first seven works of this thesis are thus characterized initially by an intensification of the physician's role as an active warning vehicle, and subsequently by a transformation from this to a passive figure whose own inefficacy reflects the gravity of the social situation in which he is cast. It is at this point, however, that the physician is seen to revert to a vigilant social role in the work of Ilg and Carossa. As he does this, his previous active function as the critical warning vehicle of his creator is developed into a role as the agent of social reconstruction, as the type of social catastrophe which had loomed large for, and had in fact broken upon the physician previously, now appears as an evil to be successfully engaged. In the appeals and actions of Vollenweider and Gion the means of securing a conflict-ridden and spiritually shaken society upon a harmonious and firm foundation is stressed as a need for tolerance and understanding - spiritual qualities, which, in the period adjacent to the historical setting of Ilg's play and Carossa's novel, had been largely downtrodden - and for spiritual guidance and personal contact. The active, upward functional trend in the activity of the medical man, which is characteristic of these works, is stifled, however, in the two novels of Ernst Weiss and Erich Maria Remarque, as the physician is forced into a defensive, though not strictly passive role, when pitted aginst the malevolent power of National Socialism. In Weiss' novel, however, the physician-narrator is not only a witness to, and a commentator upon the growth and establishment of Hitler's power, but also demonstrates throughout much of the book by means of his own inherent weakness, the susceptibility of man in general to the type of emotional appeal that National Socialism could deliver. With regard to this, it is significant that it is the doctor himself who suffers from a dangerous and unchecked egoism, for Weiss does not appear willing to condemn outright the supporters of Hitler, but to express a degree of sympathy with those who succumbed to the attraction of what he regarded as a malignant disease. The defensive role of the physician during the period of Hitler's political and early military expansion is more fully revealed in much of the activity of Ravic in Remarque's novel, who, while coerced into pursuing a shadowy existence in a foreign capital, refuses to despair and eventually strikes back at his oppressors. Both Ravic and the physician of Weiss' novel reveal within their own persons the disintegration of the quality of life which Hitler's regime brought about. They are no longer aloof social commentators in the same mould as the physician-critics of early modern technocracy and industrialization, but, as in keeping with Hofmannsthal's character, are themselves pervaded by the oppressive historical forces of their times. While, however, certain negative aspects of an age in which a person such as Hitler could achieve and consolidate political and military power are reflected in their situation and activities, they, unlike the physician of Der Turm may offer limited, but nevertheless active defiance to their enemies. A much fuller, if not the ultimate revelation of the evil and horror associated with National Socialism is that in Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, in which the physician, in the form of Professor Hirt and, more notably, that of the Doktor, appears as a cynical and perverted criminal. The complete disruption of human values which Hitler's regime instigated and stimulated is epitomized in the role of these figures, whose active functional significance lies in exposing both the depravity and the imbecility of the National Socialist political objectives.

In the first chapter of this study the works analyzed betray definite interlocking trends in the functional significance of the doctor-figure which may be said to conform to the increasing concern of literary writers for the growing tensions they experienced within their social environments. The same type of continuous development, however, is henceforth seen to be more sporadic as the physician recedes into passivity (as these same tensions develop into a harsh and oppressive reality), flourishes in an active sense in a task of social reconstruction, and then assumes a retiring role when again confronted with an overwhelming social danger. In the final chapter of this thesis a common factor in the analysis of the functional significance of the doctor-figure may be detected in the latter's lack of positive effective activity against a background of modern social existence. In Dürrenmatt's play Die Physiker the physician appears as the hostile embodiment of chance and modern authority; in Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi his actions may be summarised as an expression of the futility of existence itself; in Grass' novel örtlich betäubt his view of reality is exposed as limited and his security as illusory; in Bernhard's Verstörung his function as a healer is totally negated by the disjointed nature of the reality in which he exists. Throughout these works the physician, while occupying a central position in the literary action, thus appears as a negative, ridiculous, misguided and medically ineffective character. It seems that while writers still acknowledge his importance in the modern world, they also regard him, as is particularly clear in the last three works mentioned above, as a figure who is unable to cope with the type of problematic situations which they, as deeper-seeing individuals, detect afflicting modern society, and which they depict, perhaps most strikingly, by means of settings such as the pathological gloominess of Bernhard's novel.

The most poignant revelation demonstrated by this thesis lies in the polarity between its earlier sections and its final chapter. This polarity is, of course, inherent in the differing historical perspectives of the two poles just defined, but its real essence is grounded in the transformation of the doctor-figure from an active vehicle of social criticism and warning, or from a positive force in re-establishing shattered spiritual values, to a figure whose normalcy is apparently measured by writers in terms of his futility and ineffectiveness. Furthermore, the negative appearance of the physician in the works of the final chapter is more definite and final than in any others discussed here in which he is seen to recede as an effective social force. Unlike in Der Turm, or in Schönherr's plays or in the novels examined in chapter three, he is, in the final chapter, not even regarded as an opponent, however limited his efforts may be, of the conditions confronting him, but is himself a constituent part, or at most a functionless, non-partisan onlooker of the reality portrayed. Throughout this study an attempt has been made to demonstrate clearly both why and how the physician constitutes an important component-figure in modern German literary theme and plot-substance. The analysis of the doctor-figure, as undertaken here, may be justifiably regarded as a valuable means of probing some of the varying historical situations of late nineteenth and twentieth century social life. The examination, in this sense, of the physician's role in later, more contemporary works such as Verstörung, however, makes such probing a still highly interesting, but at the same time a now almost frightening task.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

[1] Hermann Boeschenstein, *The German Novel, 1939-1944* (Toronto, 1949), p. 30.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The following discussion is indebted to works such as Arturo Castiglioni, *A History of Medicine*, trans. E.B. Krumbhaar (New York, 1941); Victor Robinson, *The Story of Medicine* (New York, 1935); Otto Bettmann, *A Pictorial History of Medicine* (Springfield, 1956); L. Aschoff and P. Diepgen, *Kurze Übersichtstabelle zur Geschichte der Medizin*, 3rd. ed. (Munich, 1936).

[4] Illustrative of this is a speech made at the 44th annual conference of the German Scientific and Medical Association held at Rostock in 1871, which stated "dass es gelingen werde, in dem Fortschreiten des Wissens auch zugleich ein Motiv höheren sittlichen Eifers, eine Quelle immer grösseren Strebens nach Wahrheit, Ehrlichkeit und Treue im Handeln zu finden." Quoted in Bruno Wachsmuth, *Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1939), pp. 83-84.

[5] Quoted in ibid., p. 84.

[6] Hans Hartmann, "Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*, LXX (1940), 102.

[7] Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 51.

[8] A notable recent case (1975) concerning life-support systems for the incurably sick which aroused considerable social controversy is, of course, that of Karen Ann Quinlan in New Jersey.

[9] Morgentaler, a Montreal physician, was convicted on a charge of performing illegal abortions by the Supreme Court

of Canada, after previously having been acquitted by a Quebec provincial court.

[10] The television programmes include the following: *Marcus Welby MD.*, *The Doctors*, *Dr. Simon Locke*, *Dr. Kildare*, *Medical Centre*, *Police Surgeon*, *Quincy*, *Ben Casey*, *Doctor's Hospital*, *Doc*, *Emergency Ward Ten*, *Emergency*, *Rafferty*.

[11] Cf. Jürgen-Peter Stössel, "Die Psyche des Profits," *Merkur*, XXV (1971), 1181-1182. According to Stössel, in western industrialized countries between 30% and 50% of total morbidity is of psychogenic origin. During a visit made to a hospital in Great Britain only 49% of the patients were found to be sick from purely physical illness. Such evidence leads to the belief "dass die Psyche im Krankheitsgeschehen heute eine weit grössere Rolle spielt, als die meisten Ärzte wahrhaben wollen."

[12] Helene Schachel, *Die Gestalt des Arztes in der modernen deutschen Dichtung*, diss. Vienna, (1935), p. 1.

[13] Fritz Wittmann, *Der Arzt im Spiegelbild der deutschen schöngeistigen Literatur seit dem Beginn des Naturalismus* (Berlin, 1936), p. 3.

[14] Ibid., p. 4.

[15] Ibid., p. 3.

[16] Paul Carsten, *Literarisches aus der Medizin, Medizinisches aus der Literatur* (Berlin, 1931).

[17] Erika Ernst, *Der Arzt in der schöngeistigen Literatur der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, diss. Mainz, (1953), p. 1.

[18] Liselotte Fauler, *Der Arzt im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, diss. Freiburg, (1938).

[19] A significant feature of Gotthelf's novel is its stand against the technicalisation within the profession of medicine which is a problem which only fully came into being in later decades.

[20] Bruno Wachsmuth, Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit (Stuttgart, 1939).

[21] This particular chapter, in view of its excellent scholarship and well-documented and defended arguments, is in essence an indispensable source of information for any study concerning the modern physician.

[22] Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 87.

[23] Ibid., p. 12.

[24] Ibid., p. 2.

[25] Also included in this section are discussions of works of Zola, Strindberg and Björnson.

[26] Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 131, concerning this role of the physician, speaks of the latter bearing "den Weltanschauungsmantel der Dichter."

[27] Ibid., p. 172.

[28] Cf. Ibid., VII.

[29] No case will be made for the type of direct relationship between the economic condition of society and literature - the general concept of basis and superstructure - fundamental to marxist literary theory. The affiliation of literature to definite political, social and economic situations is seen as a highly indirect relationship, and it is by no means expected that the particular social opinions which emanate from the social position (as opposed to the social origin) of the literary writer, constitute a wholly valid picture of social reality as this was, or is. Instead, it is hoped to demonstrate how historical situations, details of which have been furnished from non-literary sources, affect certain writers whose reactions may be detected in their works.

[30] Alan Swingewood, The Sociology of Literature (London, 1972), p. 53, and Leo Löwenthal, Literatur und Gesellschaft: Das Buch in der Massengesellschaft (Neuwied/Rhein, 1964).

p. 19.

[31] Ulrich Karthaus, "Die geschichtsphilosophische Sonnenuhr," *Der Deutschunterricht*, XXIV (1972), 95.

[32] Urs Jaeggi, *Literatur und Politik: Ein Essay* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 19. Social impact upon writers may also be detected as much in direct omissions from their works, as in direct commentary upon social conditions. An example of this, and one which has direct bearing upon the theme of this investigation, is furnished by Bruno Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 34, when discussing the absence of the doctor-figure among the characters of Ibsen's play *The Pillars of Society* (1877) which constituted the beginnings of the latter's attack upon contemporary society: "In den 'Stützen der Gesellschaft' (1877) befindet er [der Arzt] sich nicht unter den Personen. Gerade dies ist hier vielsagend. Nach Herkunft, öffentlicher Bedeutung und dem Kreise seines ausserberuflichen Umganges hatte er unter den tonangebenden Leuten einer Stadt nicht fehlen dürfen. Der Dichter lässt ihn also mit Absicht fort. Der Arzt gehört für ihn nicht zur 'Gesellschaft' in dem vorhin gekennzeichneten Sinne. Ihm haften nicht mehr die geistigen und charakterlichen Mängel der übrigen Bewohner an. Seine Wissenschaft hat ihm die innere Freiheit gegeben, die Lona Hessel und Johann Tönnesen sich erst durch die Flucht aus den herrschenden Verhältnissen, durch das Lebenswagnis einer Auswanderung nach Amerika erwerben konnten."

[33] Löwenthal op. cit., pp. 17 and 19. At the beginning of his own analysis of the shipwreck scene in Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* (p. 249), Löwenthal outlines the dangers of reading too much into a work. Extreme care must be taken not to assume too rapidly the ready identification and classification of sociological material in a text. Instead, it should be the task of the literary sociologist to trace the relationship of the fictional characters to the specific historical situations from which they originate. In another work Löwenthal defines this task as follows: "He [the literary sociologist] has to transform the private equation of themes and stylistic means into social equations." (*Literature and the Image of Man* Boston, 1957, p. ii.).

[34] Leo Löwenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture and Society* (Palo Alto, California, 1968), p. xv.

[35] See pp. 10-12 of this investigation.

[36] See p. 43 of this investigation.

[37] For Georg Adam ("Der Arzt in der Literatur," *Das literarische Echo*, V (1902-1903), 1593-1599.) the physician, who had often been treated as a figure of scorn, first rises to eminence in literature in Zola's Dr. Pascal: "Er drängt sich an unser Herz als fühlender Mensch, in heissen Kämpfen mit Zweifeln ringend, niedergeschlagen von Enttäuschungen und Misserfolgen, doch immer wieder sich erhebend in dem Glauben an den Fortschritt der Wissenschaft, an den endlichen Triumph des Lebens." Guido Brand ("Der Arzt in der Literatur," *Die Literatur: Monatsschrift fur Literaturfreunde*, XXVI (1923-1924), 515-523) writes of an original inability of the physician to banish sickness (Cf. p. 12, the remark of Rudolf Virchow adopted by Erika Ernst as the starting point of her study), of his subsequent desperate, irrational and illegal attempts to effect cures, and of the disbelief and scorn which was heaped upon him. The drastic development of medical science in the nineteenth century transformed the physician, however, into an indispensable helper of humanity, possessing enormous power which brought instant respect for his profession. This transformation is readily evident in literature: "Die Behandlung des Arztes als dichterischer Gegenstand unterliegt so sehr der Entwicklung und Festigung seines Berufes, dass man in der Literaturgeschichte mit grosser Deutlichkeit die prinzipielle Änderung seiner Darstellung aufweisen kann. Mit den Fortschritten der ärztlichen Heilkunst...ändert sich das Gesicht seiner Gestalt in der Literatur." With the naturalistic age there appear for Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 26 "Züge eines grundsätzlich neuen literarischen Bildes vom Arzte. Er ist nicht mehr die gravitatische Figur des Lustspieles von einst, die ihr Nichtwissen mit künstlicher Würde oder schlaue Wortmacherei zu verdecken suchte. Er ist auch nicht mehr der weise verstehende Menschenkenner der ernsten Dichtung, der tröstende, beruhigende Freund in der körperlichen Schmerzensnot und Daseinsangst des Menschen, der die engen Grenzen seiner ärztlichen Kunst mit Hilfe von Seelsorge vergessen macht. Den Kirchen und ihren religiösen Bekenntnissen schon in der Jugend entwachsen oder entglitten, schwindet aus seinem Handeln das Hoffen auf die Hilfe von oben und das Gefühl einer Abhängigkeit und Unzulänglichkeit, das von ihm fromme Rechtfertigung fordert."

[38] The works of Zola and Ibsen, while providing the essential background atmosphere to Hauptmann's work, also reveal an interesting development within the new scientific physician's function as the representative of truth (Cf. pp. 6-7). For Zola ultimate truth and consequent peace and happiness for mankind may be attained through scientific progress, a sentiment identical to that of contemporary leading scientists. In *Le Docteur Pascal* (1893) (Cf. Emile Zola, *Ouevres Complètes* (Paris, 1967), p. 1190, the physician echoes this belief: "...je crois que l'avenir de l'humanité est dans

le progrès de la raison par la science. Je crois que la poursuite de la verité par la science est l'ideal divin que l'homme doit se proposer. Je crois que tout est illusion et vanité, en dehors du tresor des verites lentement acquises et qui ne se perdront jamais plus. Je crois que la somme de ces verités, augmentées toujours, finira par donner a l'homme un pouvoir incalculable, et la sérénité sinon le bonheur... Qui, je crois au triomphe final de la vie." With Ibsen, on the other hand, the scientific physician exposes a "truth" of a different nature. In the drama An Enemy of the People (1882), the physician Stockmann reveals the poisonous condition of the waters in the local bath which represent a considerable source of income for the town. For Stockmann the unhygienic water becomes symptomatic of the corrupt and poisoned society in which he exists, and which is ruled by the "relics of a dying age." As a proclaimer of truth, the physician is here no longer the herald of a problem-free social age, but a social critic whose disclosure of reality is painful and harsh. In Ibsen's later play The Wild Duck (1884) the physician Relling exposes the "truth" as the inherent weakness of man. While the social idealist Gregers Werle wishes to impose stringent moral standards upon his fellow-men, Relling demonstrates the incompatibility of this with human nature. His cure for humanity lies in deception, but in upholding this he is not acting dishonourably, but realistically. He is aware of man's spiritual weakness, and in order to stimulate this he employs illusion by which is meant the instilling of self-deception into the individual. This has been the case with the former theological student Molvik, who may consequently sustain himself by believing that his outbreaks of drunkenness are the result of a demonic element within him. In stark terms Relling indicates the necessity of deception for human nature: "Take the life-lie away from the average man and straight away you take away his happiness." The truth revealed by the physician in this instance is once again discomforting, but both Relling and Stockmann are employed to disclose exactly this, which reverses the optimistic hopes expressed by Doctor Pascal in Zola's work. The same function of revealing the ugliness of modern scientific civilisation, rather than its presumed advantages, is also performed by the physician Schimmelpfennig in Hauptmann's play.

[39] Cf. the studies of Helene Schachel, Fritz Wittmann and Paul Carsten (pp. 10-11 of this study).

[40] I.e. at a time coincidental with the literary period of Naturalism. History, as an essential element of this study, will be regarded in the sense of an enquiry, as "a participant in man's struggle to understand his environment, physical, temporal and social." and as "the attempt to discover on the basis of fragmentary evidence the significant things about

the past." Cf. Arthur Marwick, The Nature of History (London, 1970), p. 13, and Geoffrey Barraclough, History in a changing World (Oxford, 1955), pp. 29-30. Problematic discussions concerning subjects such as the function of history, or the nature of historical explanation are not regarded as fundamental topics of this investigation and will thus be avoided.

[41] Cf. Hermann Weigand, Thomas Mann's novel Der Zauberberg (New York, 1933), pp. 39-45.

[42] Cf. Erich Stern, "Krankheit als Gegenstand dichterischer Darstellung," Die Literatur: Monatschrift für Literaturfreunde, XXVIII (1925-1926), 703, where sickness is described as a type of touchstone: "das Verhalten des Menschen der Krankheit gegenüber wird nur ein - und zwar ein besonders typisches Beispiel dafür sein, wie sich der Held dem Schicksal - oder im weitesten Sinne dem Leben überhaupt - gegenüber verhält."

[43] Weigand, op. cit., pp. 3-13.

[44] Ibid., p. 39.

[45] Cf. Günter Treffer, Studien zum Problem der Krankheit in Thomas Manns Roman Der Zauberberg, diss. Vienna, (1956) p. 183.

[46] Weigand, op. cit., p. 47.

[47] Thomas Mann, "The making of the Magic Mountain," The Magic Mountain, trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter (New York, 1969), p. 727.

[48] Thomas Mann, Der Zauberberg in Gesammelte Werke, III (Frankfurt/Main, 1960), p. 686. All future references will be to Zauberberg.

[49] Ibid., p. 688.

[50] Cf. Hans Castorp's words to Clavdia Chauchat (Zauberberg, p. 475): "La fièvre de mon corps...ce n'est rien d'autre...que mon amour pour toi."

[51] Zauberberg. pp. 83-84.

[52] Gerhard Meyer, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung und Deutung des Todes im Frühwerk Thomas Manns diss. Tübingen, (1957), p. 34.

[53] Ibid., p. 33ff. and p. 62ff.

[54] Ibid., p. 34.

[55] Zauberberg, p. 372

[56] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

[57] Thomas Mann, The Magic Mountain, trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter (New York, 1969), p. 182.

[58] Meyer, op. cit., p. 65.

[59] Thomas Mann, "Einführung in den Zauberberg," in Werke, ed. Hans Bürgin, II (Frankfurt/Main, 1968), p. 335.

[60] Zauberberg, pp. 29-30

[61] Cf. ibid., pp. 256 and 183.

[62] Gottfried Benn, "Lebensweg eines Intellektualisten," Gesammelte Werke, ed. Dieter Wellershof, IV (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 30.

[63] Ibid., p. 33.

Chapter I

[1] Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilisation*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966), p. 219

[2] For a concise list of the most notable scientific discoveries of the period see Pinson, op. cit., pp. 253-4. Although it could be claimed that the nineteenth century in its entirety could be said to reflect the transition to modern technological society (Cf. J.S. Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History 1815-1952* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 489ff.), it was not until the latter part of it that the application of scientific principles to industry began to produce the kind of technological society known today. In 1870 the German economy, although prosperous and expanding, still only stood upon the threshhold of mechanized industrialization. The era of the factory worker and the production line had not yet fully come into being, and many one-man workshops and even the "Wandergeselle" - a tradesman who roved the country with the tools of his trade in his knapsack - were much in evidence. A severe financial crisis in 1873 did, however, severely damage this particular working climate, as only the most efficient and affluent producers were able to continue afterwards. Thus the crash of 1873 cleared much of the old system of work away, and a basis could be laid for the rapid and large-scale mechanization and industrialization which characterized Germany right up to the First World War. The year 1873 can subsequently be said to mark the dawn of modern German scientific-industrial society, and the scientific age, as mentioned throughout the first chapter of this study, will allude to those years after 1873 in which many scientific and technological achievements were fulfilled, and in which German industrialization flourished. Cf. P.J.G. Pulzer, "German History from Bismarck to the Present" in *Germany: A Companion to German Studies*, ed. M. Pasley (London, 1972), p. 276ff.

[3] Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945* (New York, 1969), p. 405.

[4] For a comprehensive survey of these developments see F.A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus*, II (Leipzig, 1926).

[5] Cf. Virchow's words at the 1871 Rostock conference of the German Scientific and Medical Association: "Die Naturwissenschaft gestattet dem einzelnen, im vollen Sinne wahr zu sein." Quoted in Bruno Wachsmuth, *Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1939), p. 84.

[6] Quoted in Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 198.

[7] Pinson, op. cit., p. 255.

[8] Ludwig Finckh, *Der Rosendoktor* (Berlin, 1905).

[9] Ibid., pp. 36-7.

[10] Ibid., p. 64.

[11] Ibid., p. 108.

[12] Ibid., p. 113.

[13] Cf. Ibid., p. 126.

[14] The movement for the emancipation of the woman gained considerable ground in the last part of the nineteenth century. Finckh's contemporary, August Bebel, had in his book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (1883) defined the woman problem as part of the general social difficulties of the period: "Die Frauenfrage ist...für uns nur eine Seite der allgemeinen sozialen Frage, die gegenwärtig alle denkenden Köpfe erfüllt." (A. Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, ed. Monika Seifert (Hannover, 1974), p. 35). Another critic of the time, Helene Lange, noted that the impetus of the movement for women's emancipation picked up greatly with the technological development and industrialization. [*Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin, 1921)]. For C. Zetkin in *Zur Frage des Frauenwahlrechts* (Berlin, 1907) the demand for women's suffrage results from the economic and social revolution provoked by the capitalistic mode of production. [Quoted in Werner Thönnessen, *The Emancipation of Women: The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social Democracy*, trans. Joris de Bres (Bristol, 1973), p. 63].

[15] Cf. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918* (Gottingen, 1973), p. 53.

[16] Quoted in Karl Heinrich Höfele, *Geist und Gesellschaft der Bismarckzeit 1870-1890* (Göttingen, 1967), p. 139.

[17] *Der Rosendoktor*, p. 112. Frischwachs, however, recognizes (p. 111) the potential talents of the woman.

[18] Ibid., p. 109.

[19] Quoted in Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 52.

[20] Cf. *Der Rosendoktor*, pp. 64-5: "Die Künstler hatten die Augen bekommen für das Innerliche jedes Geschöpfes, sie malten die Luft, sie malten die Wolken, sie malten Bäume, die sangen, und Krüge und Töpfe, die lachten und weinten und eine Seele hatten; ihre Seele. Die Dichter hatten den Ausdruck der neuen Zeit gefunden nach langer Dürre und strömten ihr Blut in die Welt. Die Musiker rangen und suchten. Die Technik übernahm die Führung über alle Länder, und die Wissenschaft atmete auf wie in der Morgenluft. Die Naturwissenschaften befruchteten sich und trugen nie geahnte Blüten und Früchte. Die Medizin vertiefte sich, und das Messer der Chirurgen wagte sich an Hirn und Herz mit grossem Glück; selbst bei den Theologen wehte, noch zaghaft, ein frischer Wind, und eine streitbare Jugendkraft brach mit überlebten Vorurteilen; sie fand zuweilen schon den Mut der persönlichen Überzeugung und setzte sie durch gegen vertrockneten und abgestorbenen Formelkram."

[21] Ibid. Cf. also p. 60: "War unsere Zeit nicht in lebendiger und rascher Entwicklung, die einen neuen Geist verlangte für die alten Formeln?"

[22] In 1889 and 1897 respectively Bergson had published the *Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness* and *Matter and Theory*. In 1899 Freud published the *Interpretation of Dreams*, and in 1913 Jung published *On the Psychology of the Unconscious*. Although this last work appears well after the publication of Finckh's novel, Jung had been a member of the Swiss group which first adhered to the Freudian doctrines of psychoanalysis in 1904. During the next few years Freud regarded Jung as an adopted son and future successor. All three thinkers played a leading role in the establishment of the concept of unconscious motivation in what was still a largely positivistic age. For a more detailed account of the above see H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society* (New York, 1958), pp. 105-160.

[23] *Der Rosendoktor*, p. 61. Cf. also the words of Hermann von Helmhotz in his speech *Das Denken in der Medizin*: "Auf die Kenntnis der Gesetze der psychischen Vorgänge müsste der Arzt, der Staatsmann, der Jurist, der Geistliche bauen können, wenn sie eine wahrhaft wissenschaftliche Begründung ihrer praktischen Tätigkeit gewinnen wollen." (Quoted in Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 9).

[24] Gerhart Hauptmann, *Vor Sonnenaufgang* in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. H.E. Hass, I (Darmstadt, 1966). All future references will merely indicate the play's title and volume page number.

[25] In 1910 the United States produced 28 million tons of pig iron, Germany 15 million, and Great Britain 10 million.

[26] Cf. Holborn, op. cit., p. 376.

[27] See above, note 6.

[28] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, p. 49.

[29] Hauptmann himself indicates this as follows: "...der Einbruch des Kohlenzeitalters in die dörfliche Existenz mit all seinen gefährlichen und hässlichen Begleiterscheinungen ...ist mit seiner ganzen Problematik in mein Drama 'Vor Sonnenaufgang' eingegangen." Quoted in C.F.W. Behl, *Zwiesprache mit Gerhart Hauptmann: Tagebuchblätter* (Munich, 1949), p. 45.

[30] Cf. P. Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann: Leben und Werke*, 3rd. ed., ed. A. Eloesser (Berlin, 1922), p. 47.

[31] Vor Sonnenaufgang, p. 21.

[32] Ibid., p. 44.

[33] See above, note 2.

[34] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, p. 47

[35] Ibid., pp. 27-8.

[36] Ibid., p. 88 and p. 53 where the stage directions read as follows: "Sein [Schimmelpfennigs] Gesichtsausdruck, wenn er mit Hoffmann redet, ist gezwungen ruhig, ein Zug von Sarkasmus liegt um seinen Mundwinkel." Also p. 90 where Schimmelpfennig describes Hoffmann as "der traurige Zwitter." L.R. Shaw, *Witness of Deceit: Gerhart Hauptmann as a critic of*

Society, Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology (Berkeley, 1958), p. 43 reveals the significance of this remark. Hoffmann, "in his attempt to escape from the harsh world he has done so much to exploit,..damns himself to the lonely way with no companion beyond his own conscience."

[37] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, p. 92.

[38] Cf. p. 7 of the introduction to this investigation. Also see above, note 5.

[39] Shaw, op. cit., p. 43 has the following to say concerning the Witzdorf environment: "A society in which love is stillborn and children die, as Hoffmann's do, of the social maladies which their parents bequeath to them, is a society destined for extinction." In such a case the social problems which beset the community are insurmountable. However, if Shaw, when mentioning social illnesses bequeathed to children by their parents, has the hereditary transmission of sickness in mind, he is not consistent with the valid point made concerning the problem of alcohol in the Hoffmann family. See below, note 48.

[40] Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 45 describes this very important role as follows: "Der Arzt als geistiger Fährmann fur zusammengebrochene Schwärmer und Beglückungsapostel, die er hinüberbegleitet zum Strande der Tatsachen, wo sie erst einmal sehen lernen, wie die Dinge wirklich sind." Such a function indicates the physician's superiority in the assessment of social reality, and ironically conforms to the confidence placed in his social prototype in ascertaining the truths of existence.

[41] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, p. 85.

[42] Ibid.

[43] See pp. 69-70 of this study.

[44] H. Barnstorff, *Die soziale, politische und wirtschaftliche Zeitkritik im Werke Gerhart Hauptmanns* (Jena, 1938), p. 57 also interprets the object of Schimmelpfennig's practical materialism as the realization of some eugenic ideal. While the area of the play's action is far from being the most ideal region in which to evaluate the conventional problems confronting the woman, it is, because of the alcohol-

ism and apparent hereditary affliction which pervade it, a highly suitable environment for a study of hereditary degeneration in families. Such a topic would seem to conform suitably to Schimmelpfennig's extensive researches.

[45] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, pp. 93-94.

[46] Gerhart Hauptmann, "Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend" in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. H.E. Hass, VII (Darmstadt, 1962), p. 1065: "Vererbungsfragen sind schon damals in der Medizin und darüber hinaus viel diskutiert worden...auch in unserem Kreis. Die Degeneration im Bilde der Familie wurde, meines Erachtens zu Unrecht, meist auf den übertriebenen Genuss von Alkohol zurückgeführt."

[47] Cf. Ernst Johann and Jörg Junker, *Illustrierte deutsche Kulturgeschichte der letzten hundert Jahre* (Munich, 1970), p. 260.

[48] Shaw, op. cit., p. 113. The evidence supporting this crucially important contention that the Krauses' alcoholism is an acquired trait, which Shaw does not mention, is supplied by Helene. After returning home from boarding school she has spent four years with her family at Witzdorf. Her words to Loth imply that before she went away conditions in the Krause household were far different: "Und als ich dann nun vor vier Jahren wiederkam, da fand ich einen Vater-der... eine Stiefmutter-die...eine Schwester..." (p. 79). (She is too disappointed to explain more fully to Loth that her family are drunkards). It seems that the Krauses took to drink after Helene's departure, i.e. after the discovery of the coal under their land, and there is no mention of earlier drinking problems in the family. Helene's grandfather was a poor drayman, as was Krause himself at one time (p. 26). Helene even makes a distinction between this earlier period and the conditions of the present, which for her are empty and wretched (p. 26).

[49] *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, p. 94.

[50] Ibid: "Zu allem, zu allem halte ich ihn fähig, wenn für ihn ein Vergnügen dabei herausspringt."

[51] Ibid., p. 95.

[52] Behl, op. cit., p. 258. Also K. Hildebrandt, *Gerhart*

Hauptmann und die Geschichte (Munich, 1968), p. 53: "Als tiefer sehendem war es ihm unmöglich, sich dem Fortschrittsglauben des 19. Jahrhunderts blindlings anzuschliessen. Der erste Weltkrieg zeigte ihm dann, wie berechtigt seine Skepsis war." The play's title suggests, however, that Hauptmann did not regard the dismal predicament of its characters as the permanent fate of humanity. He did, on the other hand, feel that in order to achieve a condition of social harmony the very worst aspects of social life had first to be confronted and overcome. Cf. Shaw, op. cit., p. 43.

[53] See above, note 19.

[54] Gerhart Hauptmann, *Atlantis* in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. H.E. Hass, V (Darmstadt, 1962). All future reference to this work will merely indicate the novel's title and the volume page number.

[55] Cf. Pinson, op. cit., p. 240.

[56] Ibid., p. 247.

[57] *Atlantis*, p. 421

[58] Ibid., pp. 492 and 615.

[59] Ibid., p. 421.

[60] Ibid., p. 492.

[61] Ibid., p. 672-673.

[62] Consequently, von Kammacher is less blinded than Wilhelm by the wonders of modern science, and more receptive to the human problems which accompany them.

[63] *Atlantis*, p. 425.

[64] Ibid., p. 524.

[65] Ibid., p. 525.

[66] Ibid., pp. 525-6.

[67] Ibid., p. 526.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 127.

[70] See below, note 77.

[71] *Atlantis*, p. 453.

[72] Ibid., p. 488.

[73] Ibid., pp. 490-1.

[74] Ibid., p. 491.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Cf. G. Hauptmann, "Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend" in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. H.E. Hass, VII (Darmstadt, 1962), p. 1071: "Der Grundzug unseres damaligen Wesens und Lebens war Gläubigkeit. So glaubten wir an den unaufhaltsamen Fortschritt der Menschheit. Wir glaubten an den Sieg der Naturwissenschaften und damit an die letzte Entschleierung der Natur. Der Sieg der Wahrheit, so glaubten wir, würde die Wahn- und Truggebilde auch auf den Gebieten religiöser Verblendung zunichte machen." Also a passage from his acceptance speech for the Nobel prize for literature in 1912: "Die dem Kriege dienende Kunst und Wissenschaft ist nicht die letzte und die echte, die echte und die letzte ist die, die der Friede gebiert und die den Frieden gebiert." In *Um Volk und Geist* (Berlin, 1932), p. 31. The 'false' utilization of man's achievements, the first alternative mentioned just above, resulted in a world war barely two years later.

[78] *Atlantis*, p. 614.

[79] Ibid., pp. 444-5.

[80] Ibid., p. 445.

[81] In the years after 1933, for example, being "healthy" and "happy" in Germany implied an acceptance of National Socialist doctrines.

[82] *Atlantis*, p. 446.

[83] Ibid., p. 614.

[84] Ibid., p. 658. One is again reminded of Schimmelpfennig's gloomy appraisal of humanity.

[85] Ibid., p. 660.

[86] Ibid., p. 661.

[87] Ibid., p. 591.

[88] Ibid.

[89] P. Diepgen, *Kurze Übersichtstabelle zur Geschichte der Medizin*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1936) p. 60.

[90] See also chapter three of this study.

[91] *Atlantis*, p. 591, and Barnstorff, op. cit., p. 104.

[92] Wachsmuth, however, interprets the work as being written in the sense of a liberal cultural optimism (p. 127). For him not even the sinking of the *Roland* is indicative of any impending disaster. For E. Hilscher, *Gerhart Hauptmann* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 301-2 the *Roland* is a symbol of decline. Its sinking is "eine Vision von der bevorstehende Weltkrise und Kriegskatastrophe, die das europäische Bürgertum in den Strudel reissen sollte."

[93] In doing this Schmidt is a contrasting figure to von

Kammacher who is unable to endure the shores of medical practice. Von Kammacher's value in the novel is, however, founded upon the very sensitivity to human suffering which had made his work as a doctor personally difficult.

[94] Pinson, op. cit., p. 249.

[95] See page 57 of this study.

[96] Holborn, op. cit., p. 388 and Wehler, op. cit., p. 53.

[97] Holborn, op. cit., p. 324.

[98] Germany's failure to renew the 1887 Reinsureance Treaty with Russia in 1890 did much to bring the latter together with France barely three years later. While Great Britain remained uncommitted, Germany, through this friendship, could no longer affect the balance of European power. After 1893 German policy began to antagonize the British both in Egypt and more notably, in South Africa where the reception of the famous Kruger telegram caused a major insult to the Island Power. Germany's desire to build a huge navy was also a matter of annoyance to Great Britain, but von Tirpitz, the architect of this design, remained unconcerned by, or unaware of the hostility he was creating. Another cause of contention arose from the proposal of a Berlin to Baghdad railway which, in William II's eyes, would form an important step in establishing a political alliance with Turkey, and open up this area for German economic expansion. These ideas angered both Russia which was unwilling to see such a German penetration of Turkey that could only strengthen the Ottoman Empire, and Great Britain whose sea route to India would consequently be paralleled by a railway line stretching, with its final stage, beyond Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. In 1904 Great Britain and France reached a conclusive settlement in their long-standing colonial rivalry in Africa, and by 1907 Great Britain and Russia through German naval policies on the one hand, and German designs in Turkey on the other, had also been brought together. The underlying danger of Germany's position had, in fact, already been demonstrated during the First Moroccan Crisis of 1905-6. When Germany, wishing to challenge the French influence in that country, treated its ruler as a full sovereign, the resulting diplomatic conference, at which the weakness of the French was to be exposed, merely revealed the solitary nature of Germany's international predicament. Great Britain, anxious not to lose her political influence on the Continent, which would have become a very real threat had the German intimidation of France succeeded, assured the French of her

military as well as diplomatic support, thereby greatly strengthening the Entente agreement of 1904. Germany's major ally, Austria-Hungary, whose military weakness was to become only too obvious even in the early stages of the First World War, was continually beset by serious racial strife, which led in 1908 to rule by emergency decrees. The Wilhelminian Empire, despite its great economic strength and formidable military resources, had then in international affairs very little support, and faced already in 1907 a combination of Great Powers capable of crippling, or even destroying it.

99
After 1907 Germany's political position in the world continued to worsen as the antagonism generated by the friction between her and her European neighbours developed into open hostility which in turn threatened to turn into a large-scale conflict. When in 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzogovina both Serbia, which had hoped to achieve this itself, and Russia, as the latter's protector, felt thwarted and insulted. Germany, in order to resolve the situation for her major ally, resorted to a test of strength with Russia by reminding her quite clearly that the formidable German military power would be employed in any circumstances which might affect the security of the Hapsburg Empire. A significant result of Russia's subsequent surrender to the German tactics was the building-up and modernization of her armed forces, while the hostility of British diplomacy to Germany's threats reached an unprecedented level. In 1911, when France sent troops into Morocco, Germany made it clear that she would only tolerate this provided that her iron interests in West Morocco would be left alone, and that France would give up territories in the French Congo. To reinforce this position a warship was sent, which arrived off the port of Agadir on July 1st. To Great Britain in particular this action appeared as a direct war threat, and plans for a mobilization of her armed forces were rapidly drawn up. Although the German position subsequently weakened, the German naval planners took advantage of the British attitude to increase production in their building programmes. As a consequence Great Britain concentrated her vast fleet in the North Sea to maintain her naval superiority, while France moved her battleships into the Mediterranean to replace some of the departed British units. In this manner the Entente agreement of 1904 between the two countries became a virtual alliance against German aggression.

100
Josef Ponten, Die Bockreiter (Stuttgart, 1919).

101
Ibid., p. 31.

102
Ibid., p. 135.

[103] The overproduction and wastage of Übermaas are such that the farmers' sons pelt each other with fresh eggs just for fun (p. 18); when a cart-axle overheats it is liberally smeared with fresh butter (p.81); at a village feast the market-square is covered finger-deep in sugar to keep flies away from the tons of food and drink available (p. 86); butter and cheese are used as missiles in the mock battle of Tondern (p. 93ff).

[104] *Die Bockreiter*, p. 72.

[105] Quoted in W. Schneider, *Josef Ponten: Eine Aufsatzreihe über seine Persönlichkeit und sein dichterisches Schaffen* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 79.

[106] Cf. Samuel Saenger, "Kulturpolitik: Gedanken, Ziele, Wege," *Die neue Rundschau*, XIX (1908), 164: "Der Deutsche von heute ist stark versinnlicht, fast ganz zum Fachmenschen entleert...Er ist langsam hart geworden und realistisch und misstrauisch gegen jede Tätigkeit, die nicht sofort einen neuen Zuwachs an wirtschaftlicher Macht einträgt."

[107] Given in the epilogue to *Die Bockreiter*, p. 138.

[108] According to W. Schneider, op. cit., p. 79 *Die Bockreiter* is an historically relevant work reflecting a period in which "selbstherrliche Zufriedenheit und Sattheit die Völker und Führer Europas übermütig gemacht und sie von ihrer Höhe herabgestürzt [haben]."

[109] *Die Bockreiter*, p. 30.

[110] Ibid., pp. 24 and 30. Kirchhoff also supplied the information given in note 101.

[111] An outward symptom of sickness which Kirchhoff is quick to recognize is the corpulence of the people of Übermaas, caused by their insatiable gluttony: "Dickwerden und fast alle Krankheiten kämen vom vielen Essen. Das ganze Land ässe zuviel." (p. 51).

[112] The creed of the Bockreiter, that "Torheit" as a negative element be despised, while "Narrheit" as a positive one be honoured, is strictly enforced by Kirchhoff. He is thus

understandably angry at cruel and purely foolish acts such as the tying of burning torches to the tails of dogs (p. 64).

113

The abbot is totally deceived by the illusory economic strength of Übermaas: "Die Häuser blitzen in Sauberkeit und Schönheit, Not ist fast unbekannt, und was Krieg ist, weiss man nur aus Sagen und Büchern. Ordnung, Ruhe und Wohlstand herrschen." (p. 32). This admiration for the external brilliance of Übermaas can be said to parallel the predominant feeling in Germany on the eve of the First World War, when the serious dangers to the country's future seemed by most to be overlooked. For the monk Thomas the general corpulence of Übermaas represents the workings of the Devil (p. 51). The priest, however, who has had the benefit of learning from Kirchhoff's insight, thinks far differently: "Das Volk ist unzufrieden, weil es den Menschen gut geht...Ich gestehe, dass ich durch Kirchhoff misstrauisch geworden bin gegen den Frieden in unserm Lande." (pp. 32 and 35.)

114

Die Bockreiter, p. 71ff.

115

See above, note 102.

116

As in the case of von Kammacher. Schimmelpfennig, however, does have certain pecuniary reasons for continuing his practice in the Witzdorf area.

117

Schimmelpfennig, for example, is a physician pervaded by the pragmatism of a scientific age. Kirchhoff, on the other hand, is confronted by the consequences of an extreme materialism.

CHAPTER II

[1] The following historical account owes much to the information supplied in Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945* (New York, 1969), pp. 511-532, and Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilisation*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966), pp. 350-391.

[2] Cf. Pinson, op. cit., p. 461.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See below, note 32, and Hans Carossa, *Ungleiche Welten* (Wiesbaden, 1951), p. 33.

[5] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Turm* in *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, Dramen IV (Frankfurt/Main, 1958). All further references to this work will indicate the version of the play and the volume page.

[6] *Meister und Meisterbriefe um Hermann Bahr*, ed. Joseph Gregor (Vienna, 1947), p. 17.

[7] Cf. Heinrich Karl Roeder, "Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Der Turm" in *Europäische Dramen von Ibsen bis Zuckmayer: Dargestellt an Einzelinterpretationen*, ed. L. Büttner, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt/Main, 1961), p. 154.

[8] C.J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen an Hofmannsthal und Briefe des Dichters* (Basle, 1943), p. 40.

[9] Cf. the words of the Grossalmosenier, II, 365: "Du hast deinen Krieg verloren, Basilius. Eitel war dein Krieg, unzeitig war dein Krieg, frech und freventlich war dein Krieg."

[10] Cf. II, 361.

[11] Unlike practically all of the other characters in the play the physician is known by his professional title only. It appears that Hofmannsthal is more interested in him as the representative of scientific-human values, than as an individual figure with his own social personality.

[12] I, 30; II, 333 and 339.

[13] I, 41.

[14] I, 26 and 31; II, 335.

[15] The awareness of the Grossalmosenier has already been indicated (see above, note 9). Olivier, speaking of the smuggling of arms into the kingdom, indicates (II, 327) that he is aware of impending social collapse. Simon (II, 343 and 344) answers Julian's naive question concerning events occurring throughout the land by supplying details of the kingdom's staggering rate of inflation.

[16] II, 335.

[17] I, 33 and 132.

[18] Gerhart Pickerodt, *Hofmannsthals Dramen: Kritik ihres historischen Gehalts* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 246.

[19] I, 31.

[20] Ibid.

[21] II, 348.

[22] I, 43; II, 348: "Euer Puls geht nicht gut, und doch-ich verbürge es-ist der Herzmuskel kraftvoll. Aber Ihr verleugnet Euer Herz...Herz und Hirn müssten eins sein. Ihr aber habt in die satanische Trennung gewilligt, die edlen Eingeweide unterdrückt. Davon diese bitter gekräuselten Lippen, diese Hände, die sich Weib und Kind zu berühren versagen."

[23] Cf. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Aufzeichnungen" in *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, VI (Frankfurt/Main, 1959), p. 240.

[24] As in for example, "Drei kleine Betrachtungen", "Blick auf den geistigen Zustand Europas", "Erinnerung", in *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, Prosa IV (Frankfurt/Main, 1955).

[25] Cf. Roeder, op. cit., p. 158.

[26] Cf. Sigismund's words to the usurper: "Du hast mich nicht. Denn ich bin für mich. Du siehst mich nicht einmal: denn du vermagst nicht zu schauen, weil deine Augen vermauert sind mit dem was nicht ist." II, 455.

[27] II, 455 and 459.

[28] II, 459. Olivier does, however, appreciate Sigismund's charismatic personality, which he, by means of an imposter, intends to exploit in order to enhance his own position.

[29] II, 458.

[30] I, 47; II, 340.

[31] II, 458: "Gebärdet Euch nicht. Die Pfaffen- und Komödiantensprache ist abgeschafft. Es ist ein nüchterner Tag über die Welt angebrochen."

[32] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Blick auf den geistigen Zustand Europas" in *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, Prosa IV (Frankfurt/Main, 1955), p. 75.

[33] The threat Hofmannsthal detected arose out of his conception of history. According to William H. Rey. "Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Der Turm" in *Das deutsche Drama vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. B. von Wiese, II (1958), p. 273 the poet experienced it as "Kulturschicksal", and "Kulturzertrümmerung". For Grete Schaeder, "Hugo von Hofmannsthals Weg zur Tragödie: Die drei Stufen der Turm-Dichtung", *DVjs*, XXIII (1949), 307 Hofmannsthal identifies such cultural

decline as the symptoms of future disaster. The playwright "hatte wie wenig andere die Katastrophen vorausgeahnt, die noch über Europa kommen würden: seine Tragödie ist durch die Entwicklung nach seinem Ableben nicht überholt worden."

[34] Roeder, op. cit., p. 172.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Cf. II, 462: "Eine Wendung, alldurchdringender Gott."

[37] Karl Schönherr, *Hungerblockade, 1910* in *Gesammelte Werke*, IV (Vienna, no date), and *Der Armendoktor* (Leipzig, 1927). All further references to these works will merely indicate the titles and the page number.

[38] *Hungerblockade*, p. 218.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., p. 244.

[41] Ibid., pp. 225 and 254.

[42] Ibid., p. 256.

[43] Ibid., pp. 224 and 237.

[44] *Der Armendoktor*, pp. 16 and 45.

[45] Ie. by succumbing to the less urgent pressures within his own family he negates his obligation as a physician to give primary consideration to the most needy.

[46] *Hungerblockade*, p. 215ff.

[47] Paul Ilg, *Der Führer* (Leipzig, 1918). All future references to this work will merely indicate its title and the page number.

[48] Typical of such praise is the newspaper report given as a postscript to the play (p. 89): "Das ganze Werk ist ein kühner und rücksichtsloser Griff (ein prächtiger Griff) mitten in die Gegenwart hinein, die Handlung ist erfüllt vom Geiste, der heute die Welt bewegt, ihre Träger sind wirkliche, lebendige Menschen."

[49] The socialists, however, never took a complete hold in the Weimar Republic.

[50] Der Führer, p. 32.

[51] Ibid., p. 34.

[52] Ibid., p. 32. Concerning Alfred and Helene, there is a definite parallel between Der Führer and Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenaufgang in which Alfred Loth and Helene Krause enjoy a brief love affair. Whereas, however, in the latter work Alfred represents the means of Helene's salvation from the squalor of Witzdorf, in Ilg's play the roles are reversed and Alfred, whose faith in himself has been destroyed by the domination of his father, has in Helene the possiblity of regaining confidence and making a new beginning in life.

[53] Der Führer, p. 5.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., p. 23.

[56] Ibid., p. 45.

[57] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[58] Ibid., p. 52.

[59] Cf. ibid: "Ich aber fühle den Hunger der Seelen, die Not der Gehirne."

[60] Ibid., p. 53. Cf. also Vollenweider's plea (p. 52): "Oeffnet die Tore, die Hände, die Herzen! Das ist besser

als Barrikaden."

[61] Ibid., p. 52.

[62] Ibid., p. 50.

[63] Ibid., p. 51.

[64] Ibid., p. 52.

[65] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[66] Ibid., p. 52.

[67] Ibid., p. 76.

[68] Cf. Holborn, op. cit., p. 248 and Pinson, op. cit., p. 234.

[69] _Der Führer_, p. 74.

[70] Hans Carossa, _Der Arzt Gion_ (Leipzig, 1931). All future references to this work will merely indicate its title and the page number.

[71] Gion, p. 41.

[72] Ibid., p. 9.

[73] Ibid., p. 52.

[74] Ibid., p. 96.

[75] Quoted in H. Carossa, _Ungleiche Welten_ (Wiesbaden, 1951), p. 33.

[76] _Gion_, p. 135.

[77] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[78] Ibid., p. 27.

[79] Ibid., p. 52.

[80] Ibid., p. 40.

[81] Cf. M. Popischil Alter, *The Concept of Physician in the Writings of Hans Carossa and Arthur Schnitzler* (Berne, 1971), pp. 54 and 66.

[82] Ibid., p. 54.

[83] Ibid., p. 29.

CHAPTER III

[1] Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966), p. 490.

[2] For an excellent, well-detailed summary of Hitler's rise to power see Alan Bullock's revised edition of Hitler, A Study in Tyranny, (Harmondsworth, 1962).

[3] See below, pp. 160-161.

[4] Ernst Weiss, Ich-Der Augenzeuge (Munich, 1977). All future references to this work will merely indicate the title and page number.

[5] Ibid., p. 82.

[6] Ibid., p. 124.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 146.

[9] Ibid., p. 19.

[10] Ibid., p. 31.

[11] Ibid., p. 149.

[12] Cf. Hermann Kesten in the foreword to Ich-Der Augenzeuge, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1964), p. viii.

[13] Augenzeuge, p. 149.

[14] Ibid., p. 177.

[15] Ibid., pp. 186-189.

[16] Ibid., p. 190.

[17] Ibid., p. 204.

[18] Ibid., p. 120.

[19] Ibid., p. 204.

[20] Ibid., p. 209.

[21] Ibid., p. 245.

[22] Ibid., p. 192.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., p. 209.

[25] Ibid., p. 224.

[26] Ibid., p. 220.

[27] This is also the case with Ravic, the physician-hero of Erich Maria Remarque's novel Arc de Triomphe. Cf. pp. 142-156 of this study.

[28] Cf. the physician's analysis of Hitler's technique and the mention of certain of his own actions (p. 205): "Aber H. rechnete besser. Er rechnete mit der ungeheuren Kraft der Lüge, des rücksichtslos angreifenden Hasses, er ging immer mit brutaler Gewalt vor, auch wenn er ohne diese sein Ziel hätte erreichen können, und baute auf drei Grundeigenschaften des Menschen, auf seine Bestialität, seine Schwäche und seine Feigheit. Diese Triebe bestanden vielleicht in

jedem Menschen. In ruhigen Zeiten wurden sie von der Vernunft und dem Gesetz unterdrückt. In gefährlichen Zeiten wurden sie entfesselt und brachen sich Bahn. Ich, ein Arzt, ein Forscher, ein kaltblütiger Mensch, war der UNTERSEELE im Krieg unterlegen und hatte bestialish gehandelt. Wenn ein Mensch wie H. imstande war, Millionen sich bis zum Kadavergehorsam zu unterjochen, waren ihm dann noch Schranken gesetzt? Hatte er etwas anderes zu fürchten als den Tod?"

[29] Kesten, op. cit., p. xxiv.

[30] Erich Maria Remarque, Arc de Triomphe (Munich, 1945). All future references will merely indicate the title and page number.

[31] Cf. Arc, p. 9.

[32] Ibid., pp. 83, 90 and 91.

[33] Ibid., p. 21.

[34] Ibid., p. 172.

[35] Ibid., pp. 107-108.

[36] Cf. the meetings between Hitler and the Western leaders at Berchtesgaden and Munich in 1938, which resulted in nothing less than Hitler's achievement of his aims.

[37] Arc, p. 103.

[38] Cf. ibid., p. 48: "Sie [Veber] sind ein prächtiges Beispiel für die Krankheit unserer Zeit: bequemes Denken." The threat to individal security which everyone senses, and which, as Ravic mentions (p. 99), has also been a European sickness since the First World War, is naturally manifested in the brutal menace of National Socialism, soon to undergo vast and rapid expansion. The internal fatalistic apathy with which this acknowledged external danger is greeted, and of which Veber's disposition is symptomatic, is in Ravic's eyes at least as serious an affliction.

[39] Other characters, such as Ravic's friend Morosow or

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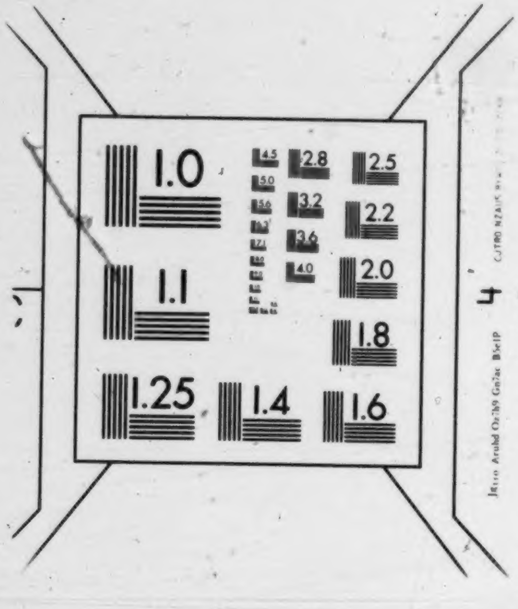
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especially the Jew Markus Meyer are also well aware of what is about to happen.

[40] *Arc*, p. 51.

[41] Cf. ibid., p. 205: "...am Tage gelang es, die Barriere zu bilden, den Wall, der höher war als die Augen...in schweren langen Jahren hatte man ihn langsam gebaut, die Wünsche mit Zynismus erwürgt, die Erinnerungen mit Härte begraben und eingestampft, alles von sich heruntergerissen bis zum Namen, die Gefühle zementiert..."

[42] *Arc*, p. 20.

[43] Ibid., p. 313.

[44] Ibid., p. 253. Cf. also p. 447: "Die Klinik war eine optimistische Angelegenheit nach den Katakomben. Auch hier war Qual, Krankheit une Elend - aber hier hatte es wenigstens eine Art von Logik und Sinn. Man wusste, weshalb es so war und was zu tun und nicht zu tun war."

[45] *Arc*, p. 167.

[46] Ibid., p. 324.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., p. 206.

[49] Ibid., p. 335.

[50] Ibid., p. 390.

[51] Cf. ibid., p. 437: "Aus Schwanken wurde Halt. Etwas war geordnet."

[52] Ibid., p. 426.

[53] Ibid., pp. 365-366.

[54] Cf. Bullock, op. cit., pp. 411-489 for a detailed account of Hitler's initial expansion moves.

[55] See above, note 22.

[56] *Arc*, p. 236 ff.

[57] Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (Hamburg, 1963).

[58] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Jubiläumsausgabe (Munich, 1939), pp. 285 ff., 295, 299-300.

[59] According to Bullock, op. cit., p. 702 "the best calculation that can be made of the cost of the Final Solution in human lives puts the figure between 4,200,000 and 4,600,000."

[60] According to Bruno Wachsmuth, writing during the years of Hitler's rule, the greatest contribution of the National Socialist state to the sense of purpose of the medical profession lies in the fusion of politics and medicine which became apparent with certain of the state's policies. Cf. *Der Arzt in der Dichtung unserer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1939), p. 218: "Der Arzt ist ein Hüter des Lebens und nicht bloss ein Hüter der gegenwärtig Lebenden. Er ist darin dem Staatsmann verwandt, dass sich in ihrem Werk die überindividuelle Vergangenheit und Zukunft folgenschwer die Schicksalshände reichen. Beide handeln in der Gegenwart, um die Zukunft ihres Volkes zu sichern. Hinter dem Volke von heute denken sie das von morgen mit. Für diesen Teil am Wesen des Arztes weiss er sich nun wieder im festen Bündnis mit dem Staatswillen. Das ist wohl die grösste Gabe des nationalsozialistischen Reiches an den Berufssinn des Arztes."

[61] Cf. Louis L. Snyder, *Basic History of Modern Germany* (New York, 1957), pp. 166-169.

[62] Richard Grunberger, *The Twelve-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany* 1933-1945 (New York, 1972), p. 240.

[63] Ibid., p. 241.

[64] Dr. Karl Brandt, in charge of the Nazi euthanasia

policies, actually claimed to be helping his victims. At the Nuremberg Trials in 1946 he said: "It may seem to have been inhuman... The underlying motive was the desire to help individuals who could not help themselves... Such considerations cannot be regarded as inhuman. Nor did I ever feel it to be in any degree unethical or immoral." Quoted in Roger Manvell, SS and Gestapo: Rule by Terror, 4th ed. (New York, 1969), p. 99.

[65] There were, in fact, over 400 camp centres established in Poland, including subsidiary, transit and evacuation facilities. Cf. Manvell, op. cit., p. 111.

[66] Ibid., p. 116.

[67] Quoted in ibid., p. 103.

[68] Erwin Piscator, Foreword to Der Stellvertreter (Hamburg, 1967), p. 7.

[69] Cf. Hochhuth's notes (Stellvertreter, p. 233): "Dass es Mordfabriken gab, war dem Vatikan schon bekannt. Der Heilige Stuhl hatte zahlreiche Informanten; offiziell hat ihn am eifrigsten und zuerst die polnische Exilregierung auf den verschiedensten Wegen mit Nachrichten versehen."

[70] Other notable historical figures who appear in the play are Adolf Eichmann and Kurt Gerstein who, while in charge of supplying the death-camps with their requirements for genocide, attempted to have them destroyed through pressure from the Catholic Church.

[71] Cf. Stellvertreter, pp. 52-53, 59.

[72] Cf. Hochhuth's own description (Stellvertreter, p. 280).

[73] Ibid., p. 46.

[74] Cf. Manvell, op. cit., p. 100.

[75] Cf. Hochhuth's notes (Stellvertreter, pp. 244-245).

[76] Cf. ibid., p. 30.

[77] *Stellvertreter*, p. 226

[78] Ibid., p. 29.

[79] Ibid., p. 60.

[80] Ibid., p. 58.

[81] Cf. ibid., p. 197: "Kürzlich an EINEM Tag neun tausend Menschen!"

[82] Ibid., pp. 197-198.

[83] Ibid., p. 199.

[84] Ibid., pp. 198 and 200.

[85] Ibid., p. 197.

[86] Ibid., p. 198.

[87] Ibid., p. 190.

[88] Ibid., p. 198.

[89] Ibid., p. 201.

[90] Ibid., p. 199.

[91] Ibid., p. 200.

[92] Ibid., p. 191.

[93] Cf. ibid: "...und dass ICH hier der Herr bin/über Leben und Tod. Das will ich mal probieren."

[94] Ibid., p. 29.

[95] Ibid., p. 198.

[96] A name derived from the selections made by the Doktor at the Auschwitz railway sidings, where prisoners were chosen either for work, or for the gas-chambers.

CHAPTER IV

[1] This, despite the fact that the type of problem revealed in Gerhart Hauptmann's novel Atlantis, for example, could be construed as a large-scale dilemma of the industrial age.

[2] Jan Knopf, Friedrich Dürrenmatt (Munich, 1976), p. 105.

[3] For an account of this see Ernst Schumacher, Drama und Geschichte: Bertolt Brechts 'Leben des Galilei' und andere Stücke (Berlin, 1965), p. 308 ff.

[4] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, Die Physiker in Komödien II und Frühe Stücke (Zurich, 1963). All future references to this work will merely indicate the title of the play and the volume page number.

[5] Cf. Knopf, op. cit., p. 101.

[6] Schumacher, op. cit., p. 308.

[7] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, "21 Punkte zu den Physikern" in Komödien II und Frühe Stücke (Zurich, 1963). All future references to this work will merely indicate the title and the volume page number.

[8] Die Physiker, p. 337.

[9] Ibid., p. 298: "Wir Irrenärzte bleiben nun einmal hoffnungslos romantische Philanthropen."

[10] Ibid., p. 299.

[11] Cf. ibid., p. 308: "Aber nein, Frau Rose. Unser braver Möbius bleibt hier in der Villa. Ehrenwort. Er hat

sich eingelebt und liebe, nette Kollegen gefunden. Ich bin schliesslich kein Unmensch."

[12] Ibid., p. 306.

[13] Christian M. Jauslin, *Friedrich Dürrenmatt: Zur Struktur seiner Dramen* (Zurich, 1964), p. 113.

[14] *Die Physiker*, p. 328.

[15] Ibid., p. 302.

[16] Ibid., p. 321.

[17] Ibid., pp. 347-348.

[18] Ibid., p. 349.

[19] Cf. Knopf, op. cit., p. 101: "Die Morde waren sinnlos." Yet Möbius and his fellow physicists may now conveniently be kept away from the public which would regard them as extremely dangerous lunatics. What is, in fact, senseless, is their role-playing, for Fräulein von Zahnd has long since discovered the truth of their intentions.

[20] *Die Physiker*, pp. 348 and 350.

[21] Kurt J. Fickert, *To Heaven and Back: The New Morality in the Plays of Friedrich Dürrenmatt* (Lexington, 1972), p. 54.

[22] Ibid.

[23] *21 Punkte*, p. 355.

[24] Ibid.

[25] *Die Physiker*, p. 348.

[26] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, "Theaterprobleme" in *Theater-*

schriften und Reden, ed. E. Brock-Sulzer (Zurich, 1966), p. 119. All future references to this work will merely indicate the title and volume page number.

[27] *21 Punkte*, p. 354.

[28] The idea that Fräulein von Zahnd personifies Dürrenmatt's concept of chance is also the opinion of Elisabeth Brock-Sulzer in her book *Friedrich Dürrenmatt* (Zurich, 1964), p. 251. For Ursel Doris Boyd in *Die Funktion des Grotesken als Symbol der Gnade in Dürrenmatts dramatischem Werk*, Diss. Maryland (1964), p. 222, chance is constituted by Fräulein von Zahnd's insanity. For Ulrich Profitlich, however, in *Friedrich Dürrenmatt: Komödienbegriff und Komödienstruktur, Eine Einleitung* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 29, it is "der Umstand, dass Möbius sich in die Obhut der falschen Irrenärztin begibt."

[29] Jauslin, op. cit., p. 117.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *Theaterprobleme*, p. 98. Cf. also ibid., p. 120: "Doch die Aufgabe der Kunst, "und somit die Aufgabe der heutigen Dramatik ist, Gestalt, Konkretes zu schaffen."

[32] Ibid., p. 123: "Die Welt steht für mich als ein Ungeheures da, als ein Rätsel an Unheil..." Cf. also *21 Punkte*, p. 355 "Im Paradoxen erscheint die Wirklichkeit."

[33] *Theaterprobleme*, p. 123, and "Der Tunnel" in *Die Stadt* (Zurich, 1962), p. 151.

[34] In *Theaterprobleme*, p. 122, Dürrenmatt writes "...das Groteske ist...die Gestalt nämlich einer Ungestalt, das Gesicht einer gesichtslosen Welt..." A. Heidsieck in his work *Das Groteske und das Absurde im modernen Drama* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 115, has some interesting remarks concerning atomic power and the grotesque. For him the grotesque manifests itself in man's possession of the former: "Die Anstrengungen der Menschen, Elend un Angst, das Unheil selbst aus der Welt zu schaffen, das Bewusstsein der geschichtlichen Tragweite ihrer Veranstaltungen ist universell geworden, doch ihre immer perfekteren Mittel, industrielle Produktion und administrative Bürokratie, dienen häufig genug entgegengesetzter Bestimmung: dem Krieg, der Ausrottung und dem Terror. Dieser

Widerspruch ist allgemein geworden in der Herrschaft des Menschen über die Kernenergie, welche nicht nur Arsenal universeller Technifizierung ist, die Leben für alle bedeutet, sondern auch des Krieges und der Vernichtung aller. Dies ist der groteske Hintergrund unserer Zeit."

[35] Erich Franzen, Formen des modernen Dramas: Von der Illusionsbühne zum Antitheater (Munich, 1961), pp. 121, 142, 143.

[36] Leo Kofler, Zur Theorie der modernen Literatur: Der Avantgardismus in soziologischer Sicht (Berlin, 1962),

[37] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, "Friedrich Schiller" in Theaterschriften und Reden (Zurich, 1966), p. 228.

[38] Quoted in Gerwin Marahrens, "Friedrich Dürrenmatts Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi" in Friedrich Dürrenmatt: Studien zu seinem Werk, ed. Gerhard Knapp (Heidelberg, 1976).

[39] Hans Joachim Schrimpf, "Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet" in Untersuchungen zur Literatur als Geschichte: Festschrift für Benno von Wiese (Berlin, 1973), p. 563.

[40] Although the question is raised here, it is not the intention of this investigation to attempt a deep enquiry into the sociological background of the problem at hand. Instead, a modest effort will be made to outline some general areas of the dilemma. It appears, for the purpose of this particular study, important to demonstrate how the problems described by modern social critics appear in literary form, and, of course, how the physician reacts to them or assimilates them.

[41] Günther Anders, Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen (Munich, 1956), p. 218: "Seit Döblin vor mehr als 20 Jahren in Biberkopf den zum Nichtstun verdammten und darum weltlosen Menschen dargestellt hat, ist durch geschichtliche Entwicklungen verschiedenster Art das 'Tun' noch dubioser geworden als damals; nicht etwa, weil die Zahl der Arbeitslosen zugenommen hätte,..sondern weil Millionen, die effektiv noch etwas tun, dabei das Gefühl haben 'getan zu werden': nämlich tätig sind, ohne sich das Ziel ihrer Arbeit selbst vorzunehmen oder deren Ziel auch durchschauen zu können."

[42] Cf. Franzen, op. cit., p. 143. Speaking of the abstract, technical complex which makes up the modern world, he describes how the natural environment of man has been replaced. This, however, is the knowledge of only a very few: "Das wissen die abstrakten Maler, die Bühnenbildner und die Musiker ganz genau-aber das Publikum weiss es noch nicht. Es glaubt zum grossen Teil immer noch an die Plüschsofa-Existenz unserer Grossväter."

[43] Kofler, op. cit., p. 49.

[44] Franzen, op. cit., p. 21.

[45] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, *Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi* in *Komödien I*, 2nd ed. (Zurich, 1957). All future references to this work will merely indicate the play's ittle and volume page.

[46] *Mississippi*, p. 127.

[47] For Anneliese Kulhanek, *Die dramatische Technik Friedrich Dürrenmatts*, Diss. Vienna (1963), p. 43, the lack of geographical precision is "eines der Mittel der zeitgenössischen Dramaturgie, um die geistige Orientierungsnot des heutigen Menschen anschaulich auf die Bühne zu bringen." Quoted in Marahrens, op. cit., p. 97.

[48] *Mississippi*, p. 96.

[49] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[50] Ibid., p. 131.

[51] Ibid., p. 127.

[52] Ibid., p. 138.

[53] Ibid., p. 135.

[54] Ibid., p. 138.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p. 139.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., p. 133.

[59] Ibid., p. 132.

[60] Ibid., p. 96 and p. 126.

[61] Ibid., p. 138.

[62] Ibid., p. 139.

[63] Ibid., p. 126. A notable admission of his impotence occurs during his final scene with Anastasia: "So bin ich geworfen auf eine Erde, die nicht mehr zu retten ist, und genagelt ans Kreuz meiner Lächerlichkeit" (p. 153).

[64] Ibid., p. 145.

[65] Ibid., p. 127.

[66] Ibid., p. 148.

[67] Ibid., p. 148.

[68] Marahrens, op. cit., p. 104.

[69] *Mississippi*, p. 147.

[70] Marahrens, op. cit., p. 104.

[71] *Mississippi*, pp. 103-131.

[72] Ibid., p. 148.

[73] Ibid., p. 152.

[74] Ibid., p. 132.

[75] Ibid., p. 139.

[76] Ibid., p. 148.

[77] Cf. Jauslin, op. cit., p. 67: "Übelohe behält also angeblich seine Liebe, aber da sie ihn nicht zu Anastasia geführt hat und da er damit auch den Glauben an den Menschen verloren hat, ist diese Liebe zu einer leeren Idee geworden; sie ist nicht mehr fähig, eine zwischenmenschliche Beziehung herzustellen..."

[78] Mississippi, p. 138.

[79] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[80] Ibid., p. 139.

[81] Herbert Peter Madler, "Dürrenmatts mutiger Mensch," Hochland, 62 (1970), 46-47.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Marahrens, op. cit., p. 106.

[84] Wilfried Berghahn, "Friedrich Dürrenmatts Spiel mit den Ideologien," Frankfurter Hefte, 9 (1956), 103.

[85] Josef Scherer, "Der mutige Mensch," Stimmen der Zeit, 169 (1961-62), 309.

[86] Madler, op. cit., p. 46.

[87] Jauslin, op. cit., p. 67.

[88] Marahrens, op. cit., p. 106.

[89] *Mississippi*, pp. 126-128.

[90] Ibid., p.168.

[91] In *Theaterprobleme*, p. 123 Dürrenmatt writes: "Dies ist denn auch eines meiner Hauptanliegen. Der Blinde, Romulus, Übelohe, Akki sind mutige Menschen. Die verlorene Weltordnung wird in ihrer Brust hergestellt,.." It is questionable, however, whether the role of the courageous individual is a valid function of Übelohe in the play, as is later mentioned in this study. For Madler, op. cit., 45, Akki of *Ein Engel kommt nach Babylon* is the sole genuine recipient of this description.

[92] Profitlich, op. cit., p. 49.

[93] Jauslin, op. cit., p. 64. Cf. also p. 67: "So erweisen sich zum Schluss alle, selbst Anastasia, als Narren, die an einer sinnlos gewordenen Idee festhalten wollen. Die Werte des Menschen lassen sich für Dürrenmatt nur noch in der Vergröberung des Don Quichotte fassen."

[94] *21 Punkte*, p. 355.

[95] *Mississippi*, p. 117.

[96] Ibid., pp. 95-96, and p. 126.

[97] See above, note 91.

[98] See above, note 85.

[99] Cf. Marahrens, op. cit., p. 106.

[100] Günter Grass, *örtlich betäubt*, 2nd ed. (Neuwied, 1969). All future references to this work will merely indicate the title and page number. While the world of *örtlich betäubt* reveals much human weakness and insecurity, it is by no means as drastic as the situation in Dürrenmatt's two plays. The important qualification must be borne in mind, that Grass is

not concerned to show how all human action is reduced to ridiculousness, - although Starusch (p.199) talks of the absurdity of rational undertaking -, but does appear to describe modern reality as meaningful, despite the problems it entails. Although the primary concern of this study is for the function of the dentist, it has been found necessary to analyse at some length the figure of Starusch in order to develop the main topic.

[101] *örtlich betäubt*, P. 358.

[102] Cf. Keith Miles, *Günter Grass* (London, 1975), p. 176.

[103] A constanly occurring theme of these fantasies is the murder of a fictitious fiancée (pp. 67, 80-81, 155, 355 ff.), as well as that of the destruction by squadrons of bulldozers of the goods and materials advertised on the dentist's television screen (pp. 134-135, 158).

[104] *örtlich betäubt*, p. 96. Cf. also p. 328: "Sich verkrümeln wollen. Kein Ziel mehr bieten. Sich kleiner als sichtbar machen... Verkrümeln ist mehr als verduften. Ein Radiergummi etwa, der sich freudig am Irrtum aufreibt; wie ich mich rasch und bis zur Unansehnlichkeit an der Schulfront aufreiben werde, nur noch in Partikeln erkennbar: Das, nein das, nein dieser Krümel ist typischer Starusch. Er hat sich an seinem Schuler aufgerieben."

[105] Ibid., p. 19.

[106] John Reddick, "Action and Impotence: Günter Grass' 'örtlich betäubt,'" *MLR*, 67 (1972), 577. James C. Bruce in "The Motif of Failure and the Act of Narrating in Gunter Grass' 'örtlich betäubt'," *MFS*, 17 (1971), 51, sees Starusch's shortcomings as being reflected in the imperfect state of his teeth, and he concludes "just as his malocclusion, being congenital, cannot be altogether corrected, so his nature as a failure is unlikely to be completely overcome."

[107] Ann L. Mason, *The Skeptical Muse: A Study of Günter Grass' Conception of the Artist* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 92.

[108] Cf. Gertrude Cepi-Kaufmann, *Günter Grass: Eine Analyse des Gesamtwerkes unter dem Aspekt von Literatur und Politik* (Kronberg/Ts, 1975), p. 67. Cf. also Manfred Jurgensen, *Über Günter Grass: Untersuchungen zur sprachbildlichen*

Rollenfunktion (Berne, 1974), p. 174: "Die Leiden des Deutsch- und Geschichtslehrers Starusch erweisen sich als ein Leiden an der deutschen Geschichte, die von ihm als persönliche Vergangenheit erfahren wird."

[109] *örtlich betäubt*, p. 229.

[110] Ibid., p. 17: "Doch muss ich zugeben, dass mich dieses Ziehen, diese auf immer den gleichen Nerv gerichtete Zugluft, dass mich dieser zu lokalisierende, gar nicht mal schlimme, doch auf der Schwelle tretende Schmerz mehr würfelt, trifft und blosstellt als der fotografierte, unübersehbare und dennoch abstrakte, weil nicht meinen Nerv berührende Schmerz dieser Welt."

[111] Ibid., pp. 114-115: "...aber die Geschichte-so absolut folgerichtig sie ihre Waffensysteme weiterentwickelt hat-kann uns keine Lehre vermitteln. Absurd wie Totozahlen. Beschleunigter Stillstand. Überall unbeglichene Rechnungen, frisierte Niederlagen und kindische Versuche, verlorene Schlachten im nachherein zu gewinnen!" Later, Starusch speaks of his attempt "immer auf Fakten gestützt, Scherbaum mit dem Chaos der Geschichte bekannt zu machen" (p. 199). The concept of history expressed here, determines the insecurity of Starusch in his everyday life.

[112] Cf. ibid., p. 109: "Ich legte es darauf an, die Absurdität vernünftig gemeinter Handlungen blosszulegen."

[113] Hellmut Becker, "Lehrer und Schuler in Günter Grass' 'örtlich betäubt'," *Neue Sammlung*, 9 (1969), 509. Starusch is further described (503) as a "Symbol der Krise der Gesellschaft." The highly valid issue of Starusch's problematic identity is succinctly put by Wilhelm Höck, "Der vorläufig abgerissene Faden: Günter Grass und das Dilemma des Erzählers," *Hochland*, 61 (1969), 558: "Einer, der Berliner Studienrat Eberhard Starusch, weiss nicht, wer er eigentlich ist."

[114] *örtlich betäubt*, p. 115.

[115] Reddick, op. cit., p. 572.

[116] Mason, op. cit., p. 124.

[117] The fact that the attitudes of Starusch and the dentist to history do not coincide is also evident in the former's lack of interest, when the latter expounds the early development of dentistry: "Als er zugab, dass schon bei Plinius zerstossene Milchzähne ein beliebtes Glückspülverchen hergegeben hätten, klopfte mir wieder meines Muttchens Satz im Ohr: Hiä Jonkchen, auf griene Watte leg ich diä. Das mecht diä mal Glick bringen..." (p. 15). Cf. Jurgensen, op. cit., p. 174.

[118] *örtlich betäubt*, p. 91.

[119] Ibid., p. 92.

[120] Ibid., p. 23.

[121] See above, note 105.

[122] Ibid., p. 35.

[123] Ibid., p. 27.

[124] Ibid., p. 243.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 309.

[127] Ibid., p. 245.

[128] Ibid., p. 227.

[129] Ibid., p. 192.

[130] Ibid., p. 182.

[131] Ibid., p. 90.

132
Ibid.

133
Ibid.

134
Ibid., p. 229.

135
Ibid., p. 246.

136
Ibid., p. 110 ff.

137
Ibid.

138
Ibid., p. 111.

139
Cf. Jurgensen, op. cit., p. 176.

140
Miles, op. cit., p. 187.

141
Reddick, op. cit., p 574.

142
örtlich betäubt, pp. 135-136.

143
Ibid., p. 136.

144
Ibid., p. 193.

145
Cf. Starusch's words: "ich werte den Schmerz als Mittel der Erkenntnis." (pp. 244-245).

146
örtlich betäubt, pp. 193 and 136.

147
Ibid., pp. 37-38.

148
Ibid., p. 160.

[149] Ibid., p. 136.

[150] Ibid., p. 161.

[151] Ibid., pp. 194, 208, 232 and p. 231.

[152] Ibid., p. 249. Cf. the dentist's words to Scherbaum: "Ich hörte von Ihrem Vorhaben. Auch wenn es mir unmöglich wäre, so zu handeln, versuche ich trotzdem, Sie zu verstehen. Wenn Sie es tun müssen-aber nur, wenn Sie es wirklich tun müssen-dann tun Sie es."

[153] Ibid., p. 23.

[154] Ibid., p. 40. Another example of this important function occurs later on (p. 144): "Die Früchte des kleinen, oft sogar lächerlich kleinen Fortschritts, also auch meine Praxis, die im Sinne der vorbeugenden Zahnmedizin aufgebaut ist, lasse ich mir nicht zerstören, nur weil Ihnen die Verlobte davongelaufen ist, weil Sie ein Zukurzgekommener, ein Versager sind, der nun der Welt, mit Hilfe seiner krausen Fiktionen, das allgemeine Versagen andichten möchte, damit er sie rechtens vernichten kann. Ich kenne Sie. Eine Zahnsteinprobe genügt. Schon beim Röntgenstatus ahnte ich: Hier will jemand, wieder einmal, die Umwertung aller Werte. Hier will jemand, wieder einmal mit dem absoluten Zollstock Mass nehmen.'" Cf. also Irmgard Seifert's comments (p. 215).

[155] Ibid., p. 332 ff.

[156] Cf. Manfred Durzak, Der deutsche Roman der Gegenwart (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 156.

[157] Reddick, op. cit., p. 574.

[158] örtlich betäubt, p. 294: "Die Zahl seiner wartenden Patienten bewies ihm die Nützlichkeit seines Tuns."

[159] Mason, op. cit., p. 90, and örtlich betäubt, p. 203.

[160] örtlich betäubt, p. 243 ff.

[161] Ibid., p. 283. Starusch, having become acquainted with the dentist, immediately assumes that any difficulty the latter encounters, will be a problem of the dental surgery.

[162] Ibid., pp. 283-284.

[163] Thus, when Bruce, op. cit., p. 47, mentions that the title of the novel is derived from the local anaesthetic given to Starusch, he is only partly stating the case.

[164] *örtlich betäubt*, pp. 14, 114, 162: "Neuerdings gibt es Ultraschallbehandlung... Und demnächst wird Siemens mit fünfhunderttausend Umdrehungen auf der Dentalmesse erscheinen... Wir beenden die Börstenära und verkünden die revolutionäre Epoche der pulsierenden Wasserstrahl-Zahnpflege."

[165] The caricature-type quality of the dentist is readily evident in his unrelenting return to dentistry, and in the incessant and explicit, but not altogether necessary details of its methods and artifacts.

[166] Durzak, op. cit., p. 157.

[167] According to Mason, op. cit., p. 125 the dentist is fully aware of his limitations, and that he, rather than Starusch, is effective in dissuading Scherbaum, and that, ultimately, Starusch must remain dependent upon him. Whether or not the dentist is aware of his situation does not alter the fact that he is cut off from reality, whereas Starusch experiences it fully. Moreover, Scherbaum decides not to cremate his dog because he "wolle nicht wie [Starusch], später als Vierzigjähriger, mit den Taten eines Siebzehnjährigen hausieren gehen..." Thus, although Starusch's active undertakings to stop Scherbaum do not appear successful, it is nevertheless a trait in his character which affects his pupil. Miles, op. cit., p.191 appears to argue that Starusch's conscious strategy is effective. For him, the turning point for Scherbaum occurs when Starusch takes him to the intended scene of the demonstration, where Scherbaum is violently sick. Regarding the third point in Mason's argument, it could be claimed that the very essence of mutual existence entails in some shape or form dependence upon others. It might also be added that the dentist's apparent total self-reliance is an indication that he exists in a very limited sphere of reality.

[168] Cf. Reddick, op. cit., p. 577 with regard to the dentist's concern for meaningful action.

[169] örtlich betäubt, p. 193. Cf. Cepi-Kaufman, op. cit., p. 181 who supplies the following excerpt from an interview with Grass, in which the latter states, with regard to historical development "Ich weiss, dass es eine Springprozession ist, dass es im besten Fall zwei Schritte vor und einen zurückgeht, manchmal sogar zwei Schritte vor und zwei Schritte zurück oder sogar zwei Schritte vor und drei Schritte zurück." History is thus regarded by both Grass and Starusch as an unending interplay between past, present and future. Cf. Miles, op. cit., p. 174.

[170] Wilhelm Gössmann, "Die politische Lahmlegung: 'örtlich betäubt' von Günter Grass,'" *Stimmen der Zeit*, 190 (1972), 11, describes the functional significance of the dentist's chair, which is at once a "Liegestuhl, Fernsehstuhl, Beichtstuhl, Richterstuhl, Kaiserstuhl."

[171] Durzak, op. cit., p. 154.

[172] Ibid., p. 156.

[173] The difference between Starusch and the dentist is summed up by Durzak, op. cit., p. 157, as follows: "Nicht von ungefähr ist Starusch und nicht der in seinen Fortschrittsoptimismus versponnene Zahnarzt der eigentliche Vertreter der intellektuellen Erwachsengeneration, der schon auf Grund seines Berufes zur Konfrontation mit der Jugend, zu ständiger Überprufung seiner Haltung gezwungen ist und sich die utopischen Spielereien von einer vollkommenen, alles umfassenden Zahnmedizin nicht leisten kann."

[174] Thomas Bernhard, *Verstörung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974). All future references to this work will merely indicate its title and the page number. For Kofler, op. cit., p. 48, the emphasis upon such topics as the pathologically abnormal arises from a lost sense of totality: "Da die wahre Totalität des Lebens aus dem Blickfeld gerät,..entsteht der Drang, interessant zu bleiben durch Übersteigerung des Abnormen, Unheimlichen und Pathologischen..."

[175] Cf. "Thomas Bernhard: Rede" in *Über Thomas Bernhard*, ed. Anneliese Botund (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), pp. 7-8: "Wir sind Österreicher, wir sind apatisch; wir sind das Leben als

das gemeine Desinteresse am Leben, wir sind in dem Prozess der Natur des Grössenwahn - Sinn als Zukunft. Wir haben nichts zu berichten, als dass wir erbärmlich sind, durch Einbildungskraft einer philosophisch-ökonomisch mechanischen Monotonie verfallen. Mittel zum Zwecke des Niedergangs, Geschöpfe der Agonie, erklärt sich uns alles, verstehen wir nichts. Wir bevölkern ein Trauma, wir fürchten uns, wir haben ein Recht, uns zu fürchten, wir sehen schon, wenn auch undeutlich im Hintergrund: die Riesen der Angst."

176

Cf. Wolfgang Maier, "Die Abstraktion vor ihrem Hintergrund gesehen" in Über Thomas Bernhard, ed. Anneliese Botund (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 15, and Otto Lederer, "Syntaktische Form des Landschaftszeichens in der Prosa Thomas Bernhards" in ibid., p. 66.

177

That Stiwoll is situated at some height is indicated by the widow Ebenhöh who speaks of "nach Knittelfeld hinunter" (Verstörung, p. 35).

178

Verstörung, p. 26.

179

Ibid., p. 24.

180

The significance of the widow's name, which implies equal elevation, is striking.

181

Verstörung, pp. 27-28.

182

Ibid., p. 41.

183

Ibid., p. 42.

184

Ibid., p. 49.

185

Ibid., pp. 63-64.

186

Ibid., p. 77.

187

Ibid., p. 194. Fürst Saurau, as an important information-giver in the novel, necessarily demands extended attention. In his excessively long monologue, social conditions are revealed which are important in determing the function of the country doctor who visits him.

188 "Thomas Bernhard: Rede," p. 7.

189 Ibid., pp. 136-137.

190 Ibid., p. 137.

191 Ibid., p. 149.

192 Ibid., pp. 188 and 175.

193 Ibid., p. 19.

194 Ibid., p. 20.

195 Ibid., pp. 148, 144, 168, 175, 160, 169.

196 Ibid., p. 103. Cf. also p. 184: The Fürst says "Ständig habe ich Angst vor Erdbeben. Es ist mir nicht möglich, zu gehen, ohne an Erdbeben zu denken, Erdbeben zu fühlen, KOMMENDE Erdbeben, Geräusche, unterirdische, gleichzeitig die Geräusche in meinem Kopf."

197 Ibid., p. 104.

198 Ibid., p. 181.

199 Ibid., pp. 185 and 181-182. The concept of nature as a menacing, confusing force is also exemplified by the youthful experiences of the Salla schoolmaster, while picking blackberries with his grandmother in a thick forest. They are unable to find their way out, and are continually confused by their environment. Cf. *Verstörung*, pp. 52-53, and Wendelin Schmidt-Degler, "Der Tod als Naturwissenschaft neben dem Leben, Leben" in *Über Thomas Bernhard*, ed. Anneliese Botund (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 60.

200 Ibid., pp. 53-54.

201
Bernhard's concept of nature as a menacing, negative reality appears to have as its specific model his own Austrian homeland. This is not only the case with the doctor's assessment of what the Salla schoolmaster is able to see from his sickbed, it is also evident from remarks of the Fürst Saurau (pp. 85 and 98), and from passages in Bernhard's other works, for example, as in _Frost_, and _Ungenach_. In the case of _Verstörung_ attention has been paid to the parallel between the gradual dissolution of the Saurau estates - both Hauenstein and the Fochlermühle once belonged to the Fürst's family - and the break-up of the Austrian Empire in 1919. Cf. Günter Blöcker, "Aus dem Zentrum des Schmerzes" in _Über Thomas Bernhard_, ed. Anneliese Botund (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 84; Urs Jenny, "Österreichische Agonie" in ibid., pp. 130-136; Helmut Olles, "Katastrophen in den Köpfen," _Frankfurter Hefte_, 25 (1970), 218-224.

202
Ibid., pp. 136, 142, 161.

203
Ibid., p. 168.

204
Ibid., p. 133.

205
Ibid., pp. 97, 178, 183.

206
Ibid., p. 136.

207
Ibid., p. 7.

208
Ibid., p. 14.

209
Ibid., pp. 22, 29, 143.

210
Ibid., pp. 7-8.

211
Ibid., p. 53.

212
Cf. ibid., p. 22.

213
Ibid., p. 23.

[214] Ibid., p. 15.

[215] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[216] Ibid., p. 14.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid., p. 77.

[219] Ibid., pp. 14 and 71.

[220] Cf. Heinrich Vormweg, "Thomas Bernhards Studium der menschlichen Verstörung," Merkur, 21 (1967), 787.

[221] Verstörung, pp. 19 and 56.

[222] Ibid., p. 52.

[223] Ibid., p. 154.

[224] Ibid., p. 65. One is reminded here of Josef K.'s first sight of the painter Titorelli's painting of justice which appears to K. much more like the Goddess of the Hunt. Cf. Franz Kafka, Der Prozess in Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Max Brod, 3rd ed., III (New York, 1946), p. 151.

[225] Cf. Verstörung, p. 8.

[226] Cf. ibid., p. 36.

[227] Ibid., p. 27.

[228] Ibid., p. 25.

[229] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[230] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, "Der Tunnel" in Die Stadt (Zurich, 1962), p. 151.

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